SPECIAL JUBILEE NUMBER

Sunday Edition

The Bombay Chronicle

FOUNDED BY SIR PHIROZESHAH M. MEHTA IN 1913.

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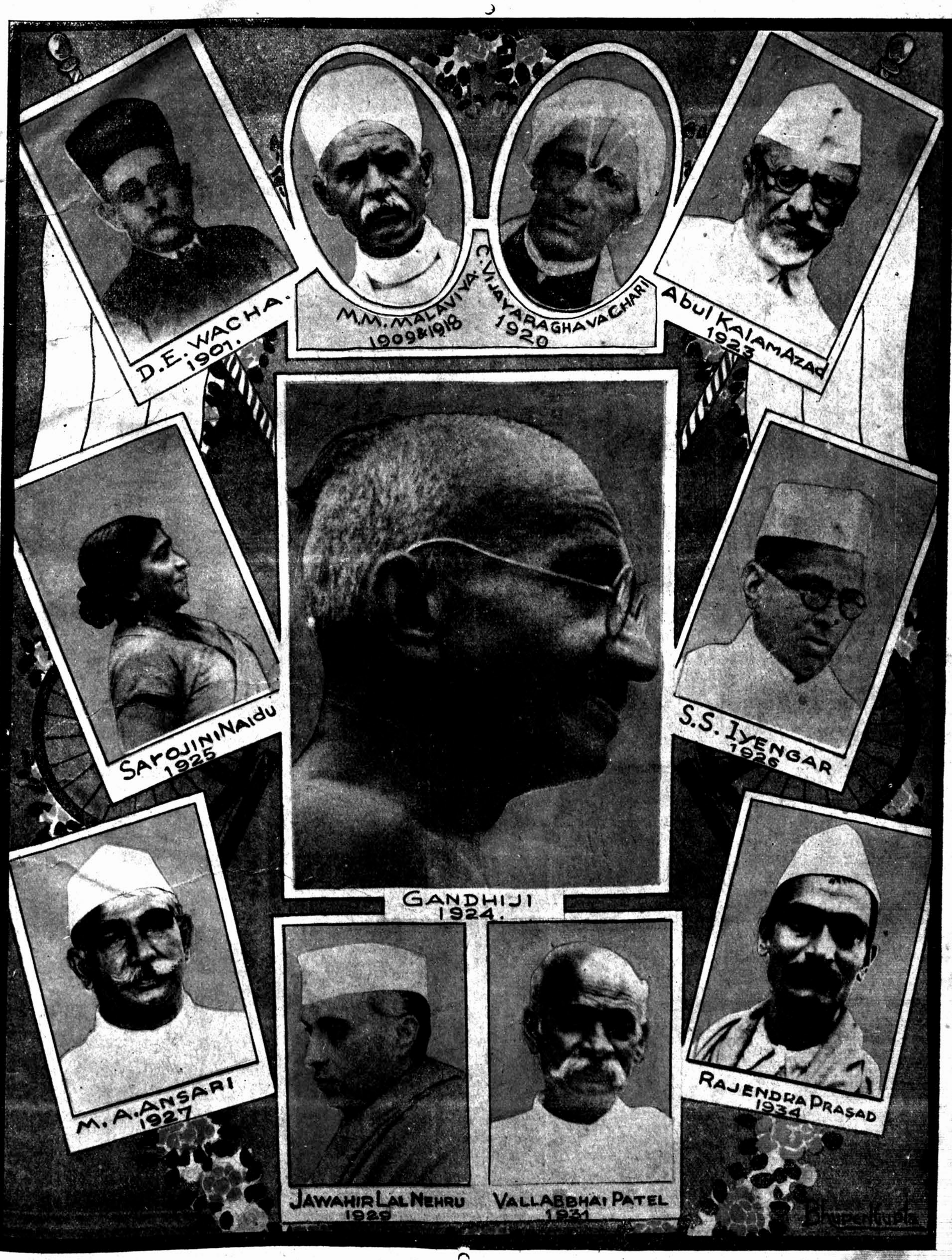
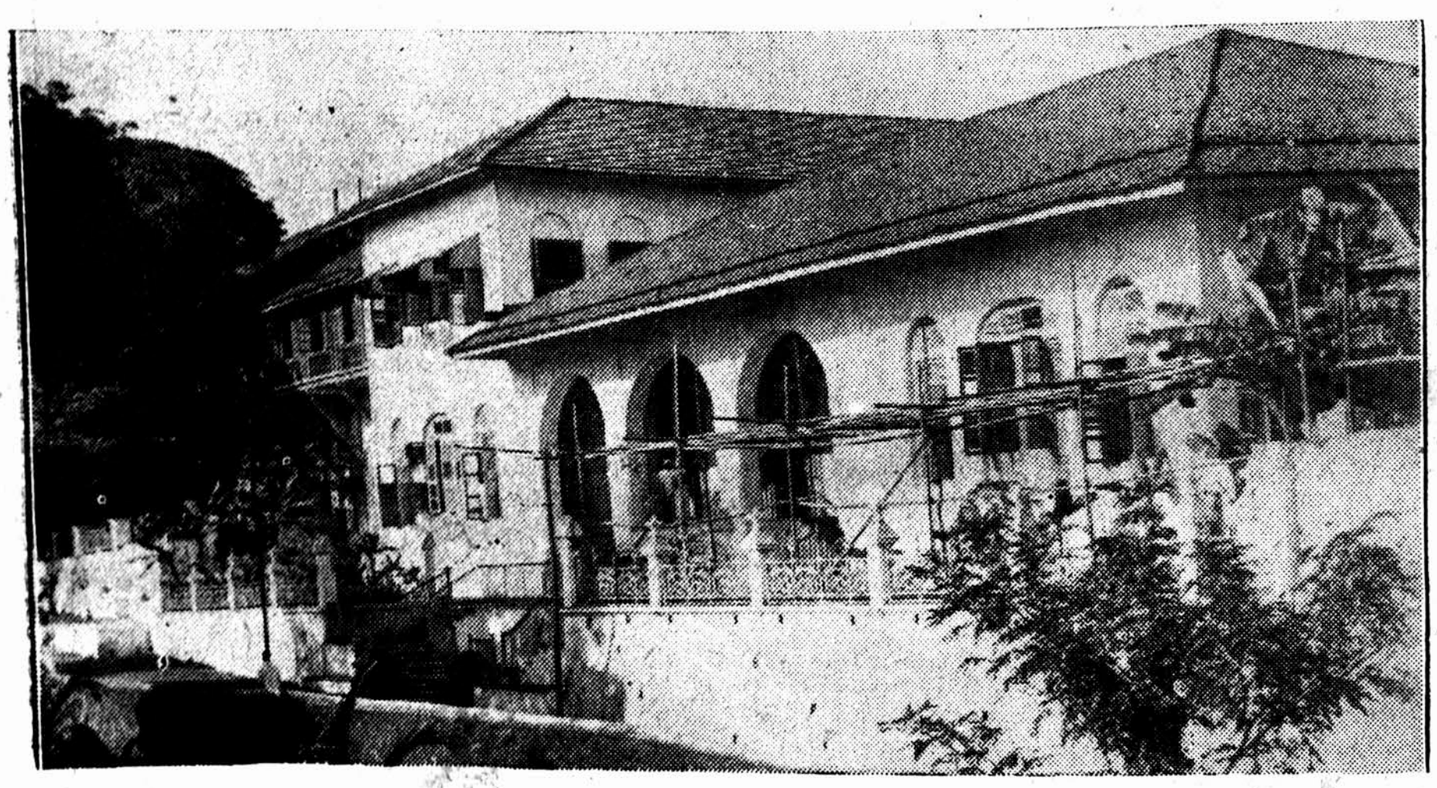
CONGRESS GOLDEN JUBILEE



LIVING EX-PRESIDENTS

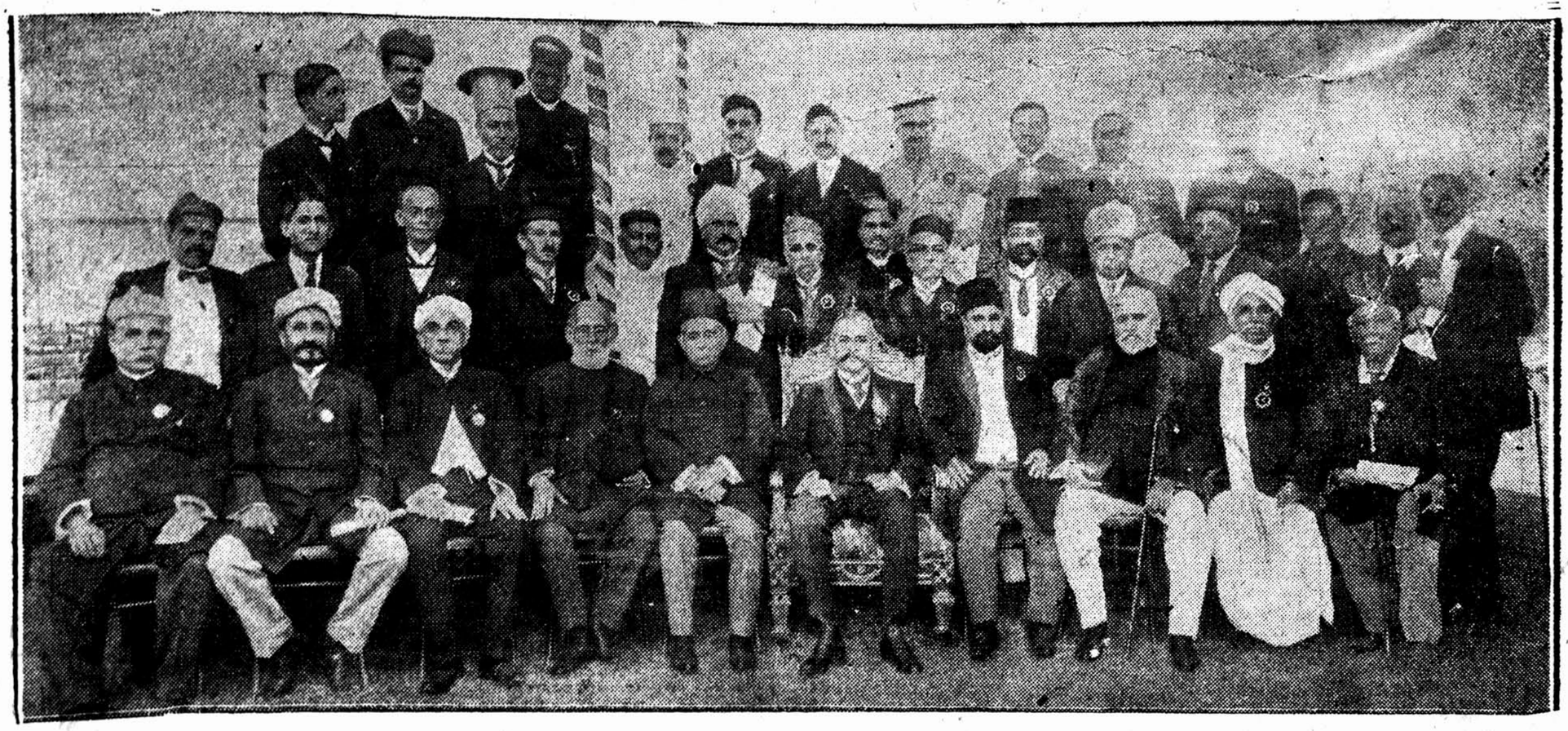
The Congress At Its Birth

Delegates and visitors to the Inaugural Session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1885. Photo shows Mr. A. O. Hume in the centre of the 3rd row from the bottom, seated on his right being Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, President of the Session, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang and others.



Goculdas Tejpal Pathshala building near Gowalia Tank, where the first session of the Congress was held in 1885.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan—"Frontier Gandhi"—is unable to participate in the Congress Jubilee Celebrations, owing to his imprisonment



President—Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (6th from left in front row)—and prominent delegates to the 30th session of the Congress held in Bombay in 1915

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BOMBAY: SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1935

RESOLVE TO UNITE AND WIN

MAHATMA'S MESSAGE

The following message from Mahatma Gandhi was read out at the Congress Jubilee Sammelan on Saturday evening:—

"Happy at the thought that so many ex-Presidents are meeting. The President's is the spirit of brotherly love. Hope it may augur well for the country."

CONGRESS JUBILEE SPORTS TO-DAY

The following is the Sports Committee's Programme to-day (Sunday) at Gowalia Tank at 3-30 p.m.:—

1. Hind Yuvak Sangh.
2. Gordhandas Sunderdas College.
3. Hindu Sarvajanik Vyayamshala.
4. Maharashtra Vyayam Sangh.
5. Agri Kumar Sangh.
6. Harijan Kumar Mandal.
7. Gokhale Education Society.
8. Balbhim Vyayamshala, Bhala-Halla Phod.
9. Laxmi Narayan Vyayamshala, Feats of strength.
10. Datta Vyayam Sangh, Balancing Fetas.
11. Nitipath Yuvak Sangh, Bottle-Balancing.
12. New Nagpada Athletic Club, Balancing Feats.
13. Hind Mata Seva Mandal, Chimney Balance.
14. Prof. Sarkari's Health Home, Muscle Control.
15. Dadar Bhagini Samaj, Dagger Fighting.
16. Om Samarth Bharat Vyayam Mandir, War Dance.
17. Markar Health Home, Vita-Ddha.
18. Modern Physical Culture Health Home, Double Sword Fighting.
19. Physical Culture Health Home, Lathi Halla-Phod.
20. Narsu Bhuda Mandal Vyayamshala, Lathi Halla-Phod.
21. Girgaum Vyayamshala. Double Sword Halla-Phod.

LAVAL WINS

PARIS, Dec. 28.

M. Laval secured a vote of confidence when the vote was taken in the French Chamber.—Indian Allied News.

SARDAR PATEL'S CALL TO PEOPLE

Bombay Demonstrates Loyalty To Congress

Unprecedented enthusiasm and jubilation was evinced by more than a lakh of people assembled at the G. T. Pathshala and the Gowalia Tank Maidan on Saturday evening to hear the Congress President and the ex-Presidents on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress.

Every inch of space available in and around the Pathshala had been occupied by men, women and children long before the scheduled time. House tops, tree tops and walls were all occupied, while there were thousands assembled on the house tops just to hear—if they could not have a 'darshan' of them—the Congress leaders. It was all one seething mass of humanity.

Thanks to the management of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee through their volunteers, there was not a single untoward incident throughout.

Yeoman Service By Volunteers

The Volunteers of the Bombay National Guards, the Jain Volunteers Corps, the Market Volunteer Corps and other Volunteer Corps and the women volunteers under Miss Safia Somji, rendered yeoman service. They very tactfully managed to see that every man, woman and child occupied its proper place in that mammoth historical meeting.

Speeches delivered from a specially erected platform near the Pathshala could be heard at the other end of the Gowalia Tank. Special loud-speakers were installed and there was pin-drop silence when leaders gave their message to the country.

Bow To Martyrs

Babu Rajendra Prasad in his message to the nation said: "Let us bow down our head to those men, women and children who have laid down their lives for the freedom of India, who have suffered woes and privations and who are still paying the penalty for loving their motherland .... let this be a day of remembrance and of renewing our resolve to win Poorna Swaraj, which in the late Lokamanya's words, is our birth right."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, ex-President of the Congress, hoped that on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress, every Indian,—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Sikh, Christian—will resolve to unite and bring about a brotherly feeling between the different communities, so that Complete Independence for India could be achieved in a short time.

Swaraj In Five Years

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, another ex-President of the Congress, drew a vision of a Free India within five years. She felt sure that if the same enthusiasm, as was witnessed during the Jubilee celebration, was evinced by every Indian, then India should be and ought to be free within five years and the Congress would have achieved its goal.

Messages And Greetings

The proceedings commenced with national songs by a half a dozen girls.

Then Babu Rajendra Prasad said that several messages of good will and felicitations had been received from hundreds of leaders in and out of India. If all the messages and letters were to be read, considerable time would be taken up. He, however, called upon Mr. K. F. Nariman, the host of Bombay to read a few selected messages and letters.

Mr. K. F. Nariman said that messages had been received from Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Arundale, Pt. Kunzru, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Kamala Nehru, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Mr. Vijayaraghavachari, Mr. Rash Behari Gosh, Sir Abdur Rahim, Raja Mehendra Pratap, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer Mrs. Sen Gupta, Messrs Aney, Kelkar, Satyamurti, Sardar Mangalsingh, and others.

Mrs. S. K. Patil the General Secretary of the B. P. C. C. then read out the messages, each of which was received with applause by the audience.

A Sad Occurrence

Babu Rajendra Prasad, who

(Continued On Page 7)

THE CAUSE AND GOAL

Badenweiler, 23-12-35.

"Through travail and sorrow we may not forget our cause and goal. May Congress achieve independence and freedom of Indian masses."

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

STOP PRESS

ITALIANS ROUTED

ADDIS ABABA, Dec. 28.

"The Lion of Judah is victorious," declaims a communique claiming the capture of Abbi Addi, capital of Tembien, in a surprise attack consummated by the Abyssinians against the hail of artillery and machine-gun fire and aerial bombardment. The communique claims that the Italians were routed with heavy losses.—Reuter.

Raw Products
COMPETITION
(Page—88-89)
Closing Date 10th January 1936.

(Left) Babu Rajendra Prasad arriving at the Goculdas Tejpal Pathshala to open the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations.
(Right) The illuminated main gateway to the G. T. Pathshala.

9. SITUATIONS VACANT.

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58. BOOKS & PERIODICALS.

Largest Assessment New Year Cards, Children's Books, Fashion Books, Magazines, Almanacs Diaries, Calendars, Ephemeris 1936. Dictionaries, Lending Library Pictures, Photoframes, King Co., Cheapest Bookhouse, Near West-End Watch Co., Fort, Bombay. (5401).

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PLAZA
Children will be admitted at half rates in all classes.

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(See Page No. 30)

NEW YORK COTTON 1 POINT DOWN

Gold Slightly Easy And Silver Closed

WHEAT AND LINSEED EASY BUT JUTE STEADY

BOMBAY, Dec. 28.

On Saturday crossrates moved upward.

NEW YORK COTTON FEATURELESS

New York Cotton was quiet and featureless. Price fluctuations were confined within a narrow range.

GOLD EASY AND SILVER CLOSED

London gold was slightly easy. Silver was clolsed.

WHEAT AND LINSEED EASY

Wheat and linseed ruled easy. Jute was steady.

N. Y. STOCK EXCHANGE STEADY

The London Stock Exchange was closed. The New York Stock Exchange was steady.

COTTON

LATEST NEW YORK COTTON PRICES

MARCH 1936.)

New York, Dec. 28.

Previous closing	.....	11.25
To-day's opening	.....	11.23
Difference	.....	—.02
To-day's closing	.....	11.24
Difference	.....	—.01

LIVERPOOL COTTON

MARCH 1936.)

Liverpool, Dec. 28.

Previous closing	.....	6.20
To-day's opening	.....	6.19
Difference	.....	—.01
To-day's closing	.....	6.20
Difference	.....	unchanged

BROACH EXPECTATION

New York May	.....	Rs. 217-8

BOMBAY BULLION

Bombay, Dec. 28.

The market was closed to-day.

EXCHANGES

LONDON-NEW YORK CROSS RATE

Latest Quotations

T. T. NEW YORK ON LONDON

New York, Dec. 28.

Previous closing	.....	4.93 1/8
To-day's opening	.....	4.93 3/8
To-day's closing	.....	4.93 5/8

T. T. LONDON ON NEW YORK

London, Dec. 28.

Previous closing	.....	4.93 1/16
To-day's opening	.....	4.93 3/16
To-day's closing	.....	4.93 5/16
Difference	.....	+.00 1/4

FRANC RATE

London, Dec. 28.

Previous closing	.....	74.84
To-day's opening	.....	74.85
To-day's closing	.....	74.94
Difference	.....	+.10

LONDON GOLD

London, Dec. 28.

Gold per ounce (£7-1-0) £7-0-11

AIR ACTION AGAINST VOLCANO

Remarkable American Experiment

(SPECIAL CABLE.)
HILO (Hawaii), Dec. 27.

The fear that the flow of molten lava from Valcano Maunaloa which has been erupting for over a month may endanger the water supplies of the city by converting the stored-up water in its reservior to steam, prompted a remarkable experiment to avert the trouble.

Five army 'planes under the direction of the United States Government Volcano expert today drop six tons of bombs on the target which the expert would indicate with the object of deflecting the lava into harmless channels.

If this is successful, the 'planes bomb the actual crater in the hope that this would force lava out into a different direction to avoid Waikoloa ponds which is the source of Hilo's water supply.

NEW YORK COTTON

New York, Dec. 28.

The following were the opening changes:—

January (11.59/11.59) 11.49/11.49
March (11.33/11.32) 11.23/11.23
May (11.18/11.17) 11.08/11.07

N. Y. COTTON MARKET

New York, Dec. 28.

Cotton was very quiet and featureless in the absence of speculative interest with traders generally adopting a waiting attitude pending the clarification of prevailing uncertainties both at home and abroad.

Trading was colourless with movements confined to a narrow margin.

Trading in March commenced at 11.23 i.e. 2 points lower than previous closing. Prices declined slightly on lower Liverpool cables and scattered southern selling and liquidation which was however taken by trade otherwise nothing important transpired.

After moving irregularly March finally closed at 11.24 with a decline of 1 point.

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Nation Pays Homage To Congress

LABOURERS REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE

Delhi Celebrations Abandoned

NEW DELHI: Dec. 27.

To-day's entire programme in connection with the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations had to be abandoned due to the refusal of labourers to participate in it.

Crowds that had collected to attend the labourers' day meeting had to disperse disappointed when a message from Labour leaders was read out to the effect that they were not participating since the Congress had done nothing for them and did not include in its programme of work anything for the welfare of Labour.

Labourers felt the Delhi District Congress Committee did not help them in their recent strike and believed that Congress was not their representative body.—A. P.

Third Day's Celebrations

The third day (24th inst.) of the Congress Golden Jubilee Week was devoted to the cause of the Harijans.

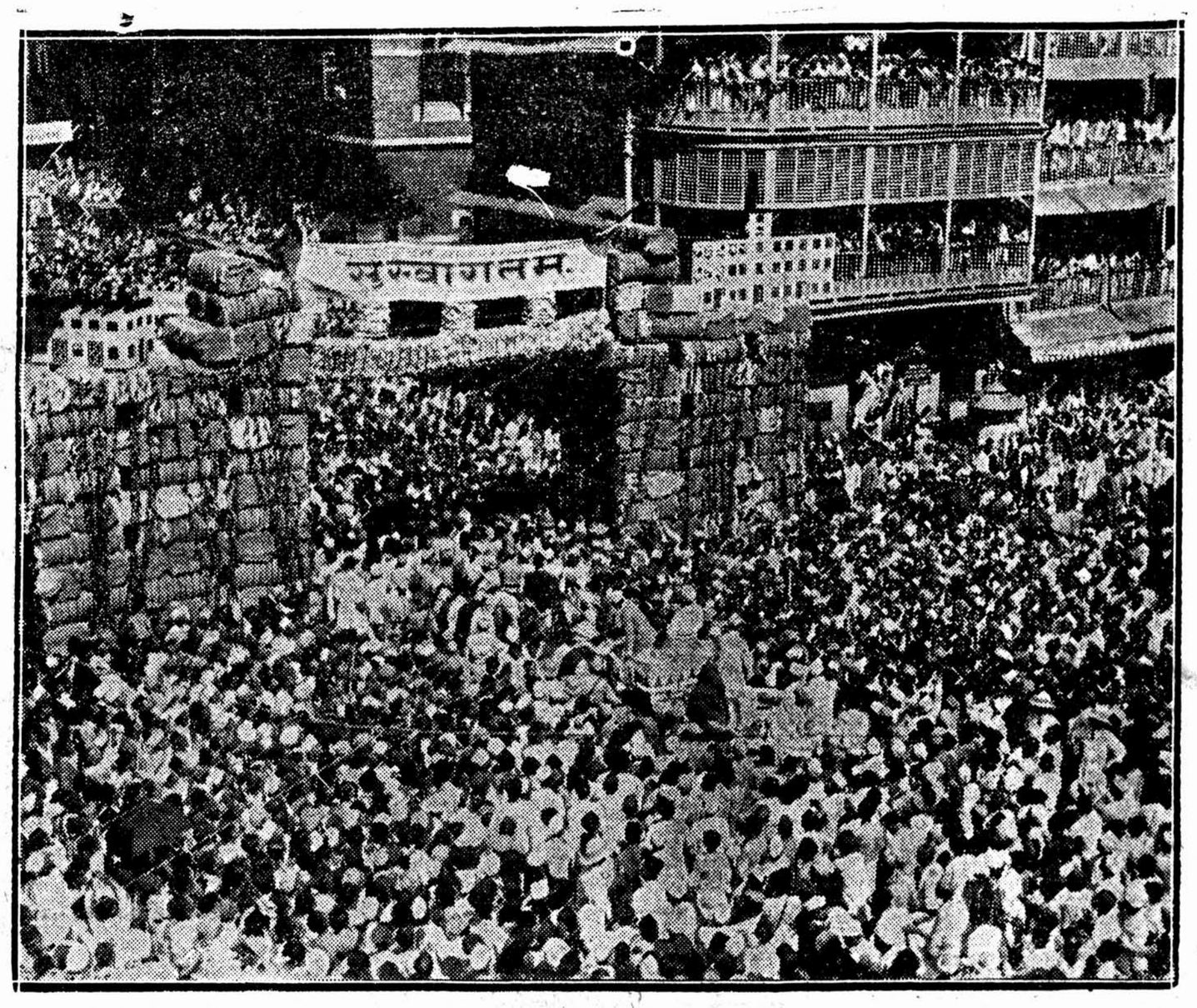
A party of four, headed by Prof. Malkani, visited the Harijan 'bastis' enquired into the condition of Harijans and distributed some Khadi jackets among them.

In the afternoon about 200 Harijan boys were shown round the exhibition grounds, where Prof. Malkani explained to them the various processes of manufacture. Later on games were organised for the Harijan boys and prizes were distributed to the winners. A wrestling contest was also arranged. Sweets were distributed to Harijan children.—A.P.

Madras Govt. Vetoes It

MADRAS, Dec. 27.

The Madras Government vetoed the expenditure of Rs. 500 voted by the Madras Corporation on December 3 to celebrate the Congress Golden Jubilee.—United Press.



The memorable Congress Presidential Procession of last year is seen passing under the Cotton Arch, put up by the Cotton Merchants of Bombay. Photo shows Babu Rajendra Prasad bowing to the crowd from the decorated coach and four in the centre. An Arch like this was erected only once before by the Merchants of Bombay, and that was on the occasion of the King's Coronation visit.

FLAG SALUTATION BANNED AT BARODA

(From Our Correspondent)

BARODA, Dec. 28.

The Baroda District Magistrate issued orders yesterday night prohibiting the Flag Salutation ceremony which was an item in this morning's programme of the Congress Golden Jubilee Celebrations.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai is expected to arrive tomorrow to address a public meeting.

Rajen Babu At Malad

(From Our Correspondent.)

VILE PARLE, Saturday.

Last night Babu Rajendraprasad addressed a huge public meeting of the citizens of Malad in Sheth Haridas Naraya's chawl.

In the course of an impressive address Rajen Babu asked them to clearly understand the full import of the great festive occasion that was being celebrated nation-wide."

The nation must pay due homage to the departed great who made precious contribution to the National edifice.

The president and Mrs. Naidu were then thanked by the local Congress Committee chairman and the proceedings terminated with Vande Mataram.

KOLHAPUR BAN ON JUBILEE

POONA: Dec. 28.

According to several local vernacular papers the Kolhapur Durbar has withdrawn the permission previously granted to the Kolhapur Congress Committee to celebrate the Congress Golden Jubilee. Sjt. K.M. Jedhe, M.L.A., and Mr. Karmavir Shinde were due to reach Kolhapur in this connection.

It is further reported that private celebration of the Jubilee is also disallowed.—United Press.

At Benares

BENARES, Dec. 28.

The Congress Golden Jubilee commenced here this morning with the hoisting of the National Flag amidst scenes of enthusiasm in the Congress House. A Memorial Tablet to the martyrs in the firing in 1932 in the Benares Congress fight was unveiled by Mr. Sampurnanandan. Dr. Bhagavandas gave a party to the Congress workers both old and new last evening.—A.P.

OLDEST EX-PRESIDENT

Rajen Babu And Mrs. Naidu Visit Sir Dinshaw Wacha

Babu Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, accompanied by Acharya Kripalini, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Nariman paid a visit to Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the oldest living ex-President of the Indian National Congress to-day and paid him his respects.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha is so old that he is physically unable to move about and will not, therefore, attend Jubilee functions. —A. P.

HUGE PROCESSION AT PATNA

PATNA, Dec. 28.

The Jubilee celebrations are in full swing in Patna from Dinapur towards west and Patna City in the east. The entire town wears a beflagged appearance the whole place being literally overwhelmed with flags and festoons greenary and foliage. Arches of various designs, adorned, the roads and principal thoroughfares. Spontaneous outburst of popular enthusiasm is unmistakably evident, particulaly in the business quarters of Patna City where traders have decorated shops and arches in front of them with wares they are dealing, even green vegetables being displayed in profussion.

Congress flags envelop the entire city and at various places bands are peeling out stirring music. Processions headed by national flags and carrying portraits of Bharatmata and accompanied by horses, elephants and bands and bhajan and bullock carts have started both in Patna and Patna City and a large number of people are joining up as the procession wend their way. The processions constitute the biggest ever seen in Patna and the comprises volunteers on horse back carrying flags and huge concourse of people shouting slogans.

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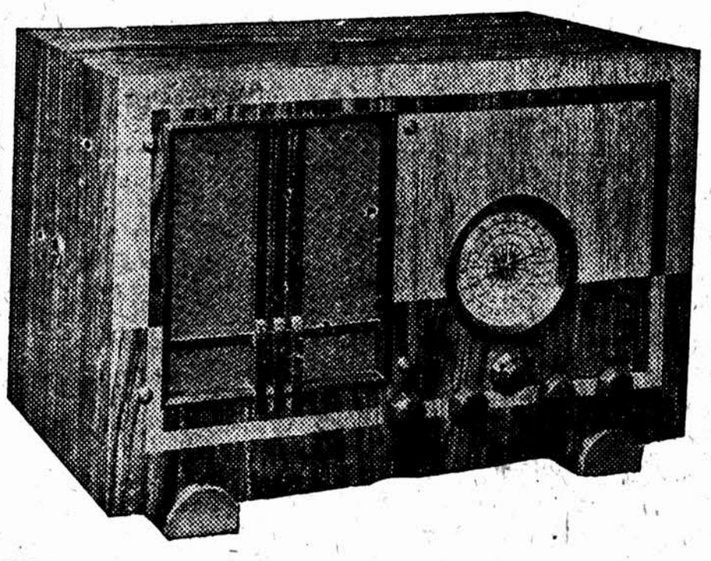

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AND

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(Page No. 30).

SEAT FOR MR. MACDONALD?

LONDON: Dec. 27.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has agreed to contest as the National Government candidate for the Scottish Universities' seat in the House of Commons, which fell vacant owing to the death of the Conservative member Mr. Noel Skelton, following the invitation from the Association of the Unionist and Graduates of the four universities concerned.—Reuter.

"Burial Service" Of French Government

Blum & Reynaud Denounce Laval In Chamber

PARIS, December 27.

Tense scenes were witnessed in the Chamber during the speech of M. Leon Blum warmly attacking M. Laval. The speaker was continually interrupted by the Right. The Socialist at one point rose and shook his fist at interrupters. The sitting was later temporarily suspended to enable M. Blum to recover from his efforts to make himself heard.

Denouncing M. Laval's policy M. Blum declared there was no risk of war if every country firmly resolved to stand by the League. He accused M. Laval of creating an atmosphere of war menace and concluded amid prolonged cheers from the Left demanding Laval's overthrow.

Another remarkable scene was witnessed at the conclusion of his speech, eulogising Britain and denouncing M. Laval's policy by M. Paul Reynaud, who is a member of the Centre. His declaration that France must choose between Italy as an aggressor and Britain as a defender of the Covenant was cheered by nearly two-thirds of the House from the extreme Left to the Right and Centre.

Some observers in the Lobbies described the speech as the "Burial Service" of the Government and others predict that Laval's majority will not exceed between twenty and thirty votes.—Reuter.

ITALY MARKING TIME

(SPECIAL CABLE).

ROME: Dec. 27.

The Christmas lull pervading Italy is likely to continue into the New Year.

No diplomatic activity is expected soon.

Sir Eric Drummond leaves for England to-morrow, on a three-weeks' holiday. This is taken to indicate that there would be no new development in the Italo-Abyssinian situation for the time being.

The Italian attitude appears to be one of marking time, in wait to see what Mr. Anthony Eden, the new Foreign Secretary, would do in his new position.

SEARCH FOR MISSING ITALIAN 'PLANE

HARRAR: Dec. 27.

An Italian Squadron of airships flew this morning over the region where one Italian aeroplane was brought down yesterday, near Daggahbur.

It was apparently the intention of the Italians to destroy the 'plane by bombing, but as the Abyssinians had hidden it in a pit covered by tree-branches, it was not possible to locate it from the air.—Indian Allied News.

NEW JOB FOR INSULL.

(Special Cable.)

CHICAGO, Dec. 28.

A report is current that Mr. Samuel Insull (Senior) at the age of 74 may attempt to make a "come back" as the head of a chain of wireless stations in the Middle West.

It is understood a capital of 100,000 dollars for the new concern will be subscribed by friends and will be known as the Affiliated Broadcasting Company.

Mr. Insull has refused to confirm or deny the report.

SHEFFIELD SHIELD MATCHES

(SPECIAL CABLE.)

ADELAIDE, Dec. 27.

In the Sheffield Shield match between South Australia and Queensland, Queensland 127 runs (Wall three for 13 Waite three for 29) following on 259 for six (Hansen batting 76. Tallon 58.) Both together added 159 runs to the fifth wicket, a record in the Queensland Sheffield Shield matches.

In the Sheffield Shield match between Victoria and New Southwales, New Southwales made 295 (Robinson 66. Smith four for 73.)

Victoria 148 for two (Lee batting 73.)

PRELUDE TO OFFENSIVE

Ethiopians Plan Sudden Thrusts To Clear Out Invaders

ADDIS-ABABA: Dec. 27.

The troops under Dedjasmatch Hailu Kabade have driven out the Italian outposts in the Tembien region on the Makale Road, according to an Abyssinian Government announcement. They claim the capture of eleven machine-guns and a quantity of rifles and ammunition.

Leon Blum.

Dedjasmatch Hailu Kabade's thrust may be the prelude to a great Abyssinian offensive, according to a prominent Ethiopian.

It is learnt unofficially that preparations are almost complete for a drive designed to clear Tigre of the invaders by a sustained series of sudden thrusts by day and night. Seven Arks of the Covenant, with a High Priest in charge are ready to move towards the North from Dessie. Abyssinian Commanders are said to be resigned to the inevitable heavy losses, and are prepared to take the risk.—Reuter.

EVERY MAIL— A BIGGER ONE!

The Bugle of Universal's announcement of 50 per cent. reduction in prices of Enlargements has aroused a great interest in public—and every mail pours in more and more orders.

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Stockists:—Muller Paten Bros., 91 Chickpet, Bangalore City, Madon Pharmacy, Main Street, Poona. Kasum's Stores, Dares-Salaam, Tanganyika. Stocks in Bombay and elsewhere will be available early in 1936.

DR. F. S. THEMUDO, L.M.E.H.,
Specialist in Nervous Diseases.

Now on Tour will be in Bombay shortly for a few days only.
Further particulars from:—
Thos. Themudo, Esqr. Navelim, Salsette, Goa.

City And Suburbs

LOCAL ENGAGEMENTS

To-day

Hindu: Poush Sud 4, 1992
Muslim: Tikad 2, 1354
Parsi: Tir 24, 1305
Sunrise: 7h. 11m.
Sunset: 6h. 10m.
Hightide: 2-16; 14-17
Lowtide: 8-28; 20-10

Flag Salutation at G. T. Pathshala 8 a.m. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to hoist the National Flag.

Congress Sports, Gowalia Tank Maidan, 4 p.m.

MONDAY, December 30

Congress Sports, Gowalia Tank Maidan at 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.

Kavi Sammelan, G. T. Pathshala, 6-0 p.m.

TUESDAY, December 31

New Year's Eve: Public Holiday. Banks closed.

Congress Sports, G. T. Maidan, 8 a.m.

Martyr's Day Meeting, 6 p.m. Mrs. Naidu presiding.

WEDNESDAY, January 1

New Year: Public Holiday. Banks closed.

Proclamation Parade, Esplanade Maidan, H. E. the Governor attending, 9-15 a.m.

Bombay Races: Winter Meeting, Ninth Day.

Congress Sports, G. T. Maidan, at 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.

Labour meeting, Kamgar Maidan, 6-0 p.m.

DIVINE SERVICE

Mr. V. A. Garud will conduct the Weekly Divine Service in the Prarthana Mandir Girgaum to-day (Sunday) at 5-30 p.m.

SUNSHINE CLUB

The Annual X'mas Sports will be held to-day (Sunday) in the Victoria Gardens Recreation Ground at 2 p.m. Principal A. Soares will preside.

BUDDHA SOCIETY

Swami Adyananda will deliver a public lecture, in the Ananda Vihar, near Bombay Central Station, to-day (Sunday) at 9-30 a.m. (S.T.) on "Buddhism and Universal Ideal of Religion".

THE KSHATRIYA UNION CLUB

The annual prize distribution gathering of the Kshatriya Union Club will be held to-day (Sunday) at 3-30 p.m. (S.T.) in Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, Girgaon, Rao Saheb Bhasker P. Vagholkar will preside.

SWADESHI EXHIBITION

The management of the Indian Industries Fair Ltd. Announces that various programmes have been arranged to-day (Sunday) at 4-30 p.m. to welcome the president of the National Congress, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Saroji Naidu and other national leaders.

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CONGREGATIONAL PRAYERS FOR UNITY.

VAISHAMPAYAN'S RESOLUTION FOR MAHASABHA SESSIONS.

Dr. Vaishampayan M.L.C. will move the following resolutions at the forthcoming Mahasabha session:—

The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that weekly congregational prayers, be started in all villages and towns to facilitate unity amongst the scattered Hindu masses.

The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that funeral processions of Hindus be attended by members of Hindu Society, without any distinction.

MR. P. R. LELE'S NEW PUBLICATION

The first copy of "Federation of India" the new book by Mr. P. R. Lele was presented by him to Babu Rajendra Prasad on Friday at his temporary residence on Land's End Road.

THE INDIAN STATE BROADCASTING SERVICE

To-day (Sunday) from 10 to 10-30 a.m. children's service by the children's special service mission will be broadcast from the Bombay Studio.

NATIONAL STUDENTS LEAGUE

Under the auspices of the B.P.C.C. the National Students League has organized a students meeting to-day (Sunday) at 6-30 p.m. at the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will preside.

PROCESSION AT BHULESHWAR WARD.

Under the auspces of Bhuleshwar Congress Golden Jubilee Committee to celebrate the Congress Golden Jubilee a public procession will be starting to-day (Sunday) at 4 p.m. (S.T.) procession will assemble at Committee office, Chhotalal Bhuwan, Kalbadevi Road, and will march through Kalbadevi Road, Cathedral St., Bhuleshwar Road, Zaveri Bazar, Saikhmemon St., Princess St., and terminate at Committee office, The procession will be led by Sjt. Nagindas T. Master, the president of the Committee.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Under the auspices of the Diamond Jubilee of the Theosophical Society, Mr. Maneklal H. Vakil will lecture in English at the Theosophical Society, Blavatsky Lodge Hall, French Bridge, Chowpatty, to-day (Sunday) at 5 p.m. (S.T.) on Education and the formation of habits.

AMUSEMENTS OF THE DAY

REGAL—"The Dark Angel" Daily at 4, 6-30 and 9-30 p.m. Morning shows of Mickey Mouse Cartoons at 10 a.m. to-day Tuesday and Wednesday.

MAJESTIC—"Song of Life" Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.

PATHE—"Bonnie Scotland" Daily at 3-30, 6-30 and 9-30 p.m. To-day morning show at 10 a.m.

WELLINGTON—"On Wings of Song" Daily at 3-30, 6-30 and 10 p.m.

WEST END—"Kimti Ansu" Time as usual.

MINERVA—"Khoon-Ka-Khoon". Time as usual.

KRISHNA—"Dharmatma" Daily at at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.

LAXMI—"Burn 'em Up" Barnes Daily at 5-30, 8 and 10-30 p.m. Matnee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.

PLAZA—"Vanity Fair" Daily at 6-30 and 9-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 3-30 p.m.

EXCELSIOR—"Top Hat". Time as usual.

EMPIRE—"Here's To Romance." Time as usual.

EMPIRE BROADCASTING

7-30 p.m. Big Ben. A programme of Ballet music. The BBC Empire Orchestra; leader, Daniel Melsa; conducted by Clifton Helliwell. 8-15 p. m. Sports Talk.* 8-30 p.m. A Recital of New Gramophone records. 9 p.m. The BBC Northern Ireland Orchestra; leader, Phillip Whiteway; conducted by Peter Montgomery. Anne Montgomery (Soprano). 9-40 p.m. Weekly Newsletter and Sports Summary. 10 p.m. A Children's Service, relayed from Barkingside Girls' Home Children's Church. 10-30 p.m. Close down.

*Electrical recording.

TO-DAY ON RADIO

10 a.m. Children's Service by the Children's Special Service Mission. 10-50 a.m. Light Classical Music. 12 noon. The Radio Quartet. 1 p.m. Close down.

5-30 p.m. Light music. 7 p.m. Musical Interlude. 7-15 p.m. Violin and Clarionet Solos. 7-50 p.m. Comic Skits. (A Recorded Programme). 8-15 p. m. Sitar Solos. 8-45 p.m. News Bulletin. 9-15 p.m. The Band of the 2nd Battalion, the Durham Light Infantry. 10-30 p.m. Close down.

ARYA SAMAJ LECTURES.

Under the auspices of the local Arya Samaj a public meeting will be held to-day (Sunday) when Sjt. Ramnath Biswas world cyclist will deliver a lecture on Religious and Social Customs of different countries Samaj Mandir at the Girgaon Back Road, (Kakadwadi).

At the Fort Arya Samaj (Frere Road) to-day (Sunday) Pandit Pardhubhai Sharma will deliver a lecture on Social Self-Govt. at 9 a.m. (S.T.).

NO ANGLO-GERMAN AIR PACT MOVE

Berlin Denies Report Of Interview With British Ambassador

(SPECIAL CABLE.)

BERLIN, Dec. 28.

An official denial has been issued to the report mentioned on December 27 with regard to the interview of Sir Eric Phipps and Herr Hitler.

Note:—

The report of December 27 from Berlin stated: Herr Hitler offered an Anglo-German air pact in his interview with Sir Eric Phipps, British Ambassador at Berlin, on December 20, according to "L'Ocuvre". The journal wonders what terms Herr Hitler has advanced, seeing that he is alleged to have turned down the British suggestion of December 13 on the ground that the Franco-Soviet alliance prevented any limitation of land armament and that an air agreement was impossible until Britain returned some of the ex-German colonies and recanted "the war guilt lie."

FRENCH GOVT. DOOMED?

(Special Cable).

PARIS, Dec. 28.

The second day of M. Laval's fight for life of his Government in the Foreign Affairs debate opens with the Premier's chances of a majority considerably lessened.

The morning papers agree that yesterday was not a good day for Government despite M. Laval's brilliant and impressive intervention but mostly concede that M. Laval may scrape through by the skin of his teeth.

INDIAN CONCERTS

Khan Saheb Abdul Karim Khan the well-known Indian musician, will give concerts on Saturday, Jan. 4, at 9 p.m. and on Sunday, Jan. 5, at 4 p.m. at Laxmi Bag, Bhatwadi, Girgaum.

UNITED LODGE OF THEOSOPHISTS.

"The Doctrine of the Heart" will be the subject of a free public lecture to be delivered at the hall of The United Lodge of Theosophists, Jehangir Wadia Building, 51, Esplanade Road.

Matriculation Examination

It is a well-known fact that the majority of candidates fail to secure the required number of pass marks in the English Paper.

This is due to the fact that they appear in the examination without having received systematic training and practice in writing Essays, Letters and Dialogues—three important topics of English Composition which carry a good percentage of the total marks.

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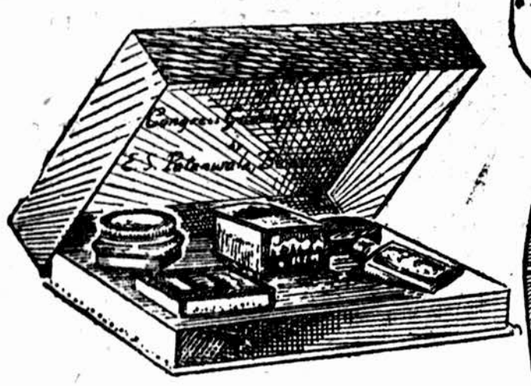

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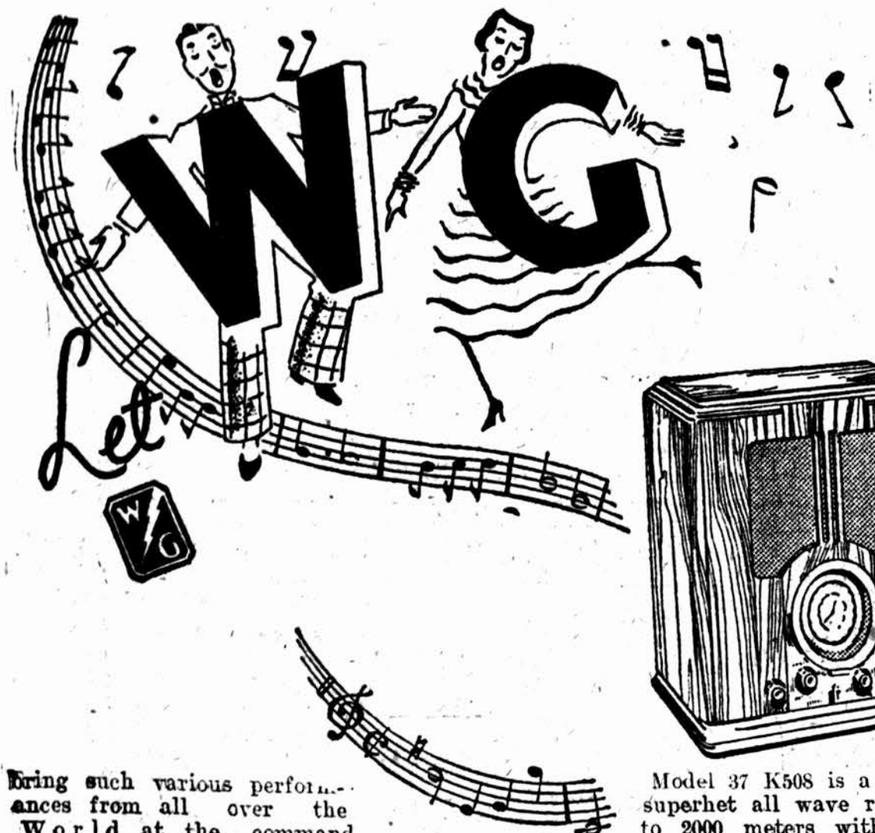

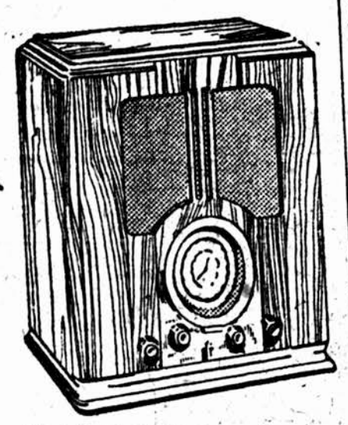

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20,000 OFFER ID PRAYERS

Ambedkar And Party Decline Invitation To Attend

BOMBAY, Saturday.

Over twenty thousand heads bent in prayerful devotion, was the scene presented on the Azad Maidan at 9 o'clock this morning in honour of the Ramzan Id.

Prominent among those present at the prayers were Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Afzani, the Consuls of Iraq and Afghanistan and representatives of the Khoja, Memon and Borah communities.

The newly converted Hindu barrister of Lahore, Lala Sagarchand (his Muslim name is Muhammad Amin), was also present. He delivered an address explaining the principles of Islam and requested the Depressed Classes to embrace Islam.

Maulana Afzani also spoke at length expounding the tenets of the Muslim faith. After the 'Nemaz' all embraced one another wishing a happy New Year and the gathering finally dispersed at about 10 o'clock.

Dr. Ambedkar and his followers were invited to participate in the celebrations but they did not accept the invitation.

Police Arrangements

Police arrangements in different sections to maintain law and order were excellent. At every police station police constables were kept on duty while at Dongri, Pyodhoni and Bhendy Bazar additional police forces were posted to meet any emergency.

BIG BLAZE IN BOMBAY

Seven fire engines were rushed to a building at Lalwadi, Bombay early on Saturday morning to quell a fire that broke out, it appears, on a tea shop on the ground floor of a building.

The lives of more than fifty women and children were in danger, and some of them who were deep asleep did not even know that a fire had broken out in the ground floor of the building. The fire-brigade officers immediately on arrival engaged their telescope ladders and bravely rescued these women and children.

The building was however gutted, and the roof was burnt down. The damage is estimated at Rs. 50,000.

Hardly had this fire been fought and the engines were being turned to their respective stations, they received information that a fire had broken out on the hold of the British India Steam Navigation Company's vessel, S.S. "Warfield." The fire broke out on a stack of cotton bales.

The vessel was ready to be put to see on Sunday for Poudau and two holes were cut in the steel deck and water was pumped through them.

The fire was brought under control at about 11 a.m. after great and strenuous efforts and even long after this, a watch was kept on the ship.

Damage remains unestimated.

CONGRESS GESTURE TO LIBERALS

Nagpur Leaders To Give "At Home" To Federation Members

NAGPUR, Dec. 27.

The Associated Press understands that local Congressmen headed by Dr. N. B. Khare, President, Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee, have arranged an at Home to meet prominent liberals who will be here in connection with the Session of the National Liberal Federation. The function is expected to take place in the afternoon on 29th December.

It is understood that the move is intended as a friendly gesture on the occasion of the celebration of the Congress Golden Jubilee for which an elaborate programme has been drawn up for to-morrow.

It is further learnt that Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru and Mr. C Y. Chintamani who are arriving here this afternoon are expected to address a public meeting to be held as part of the celebration of the Congress Jubilee to-morrow evening.—A. P.

ALL RECORDS SMASHED

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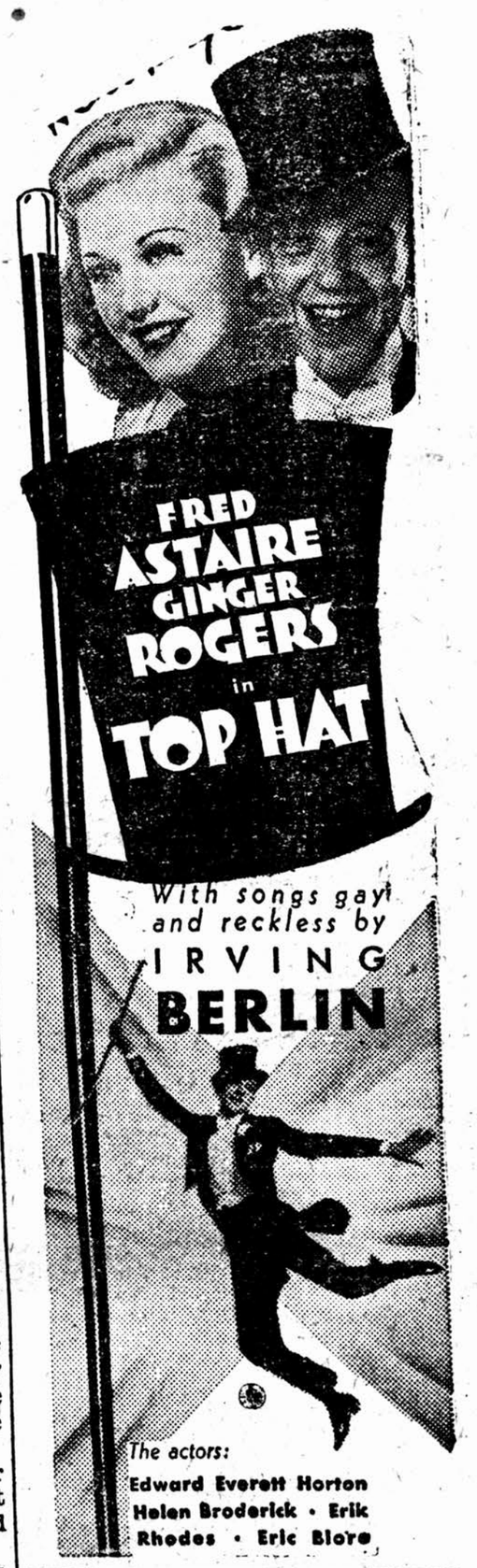
THE EXCELSIOR

THREE SHOWS DAILY
AT 4, 6-30 & 10 P.M.

Their Greatest Musical Comedy Triumph



The actors:
Edward Everett Horton
Helen Broderick • Erik Rhodes • Eric Blore

First Copy Of Mr. Lele's Book Presented To Rajen Babu

The first copy of his new book "Federation of India" was presented to Babu Rajendra Prasad at 2-30 p.m. on Friday at his temporary residence on the Land's End Road by the author Mr. P. R. Lele.

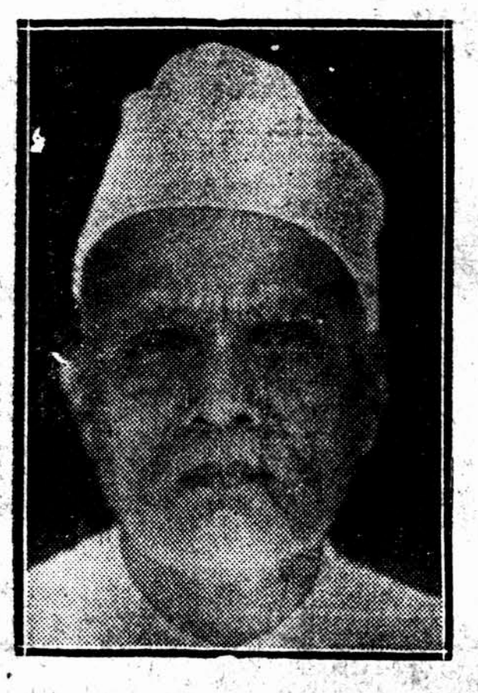
Another copy was presented to the A. I. C. C. Secretary Sjt. Kripalani.

From to-day copies are kept for sale at the Congress book stall in the Indian Industries Fair and at prominent Booksellers' shops.

Babu Rajendra Prasad declared open on Friday evening at the G. T. Pathshala the Village Industries Fair. (From left) Mr. Brelvi, Acharya Kirpalani, Rajen Babu, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Nariman and Mr. Nagindas Master. To the right is a view of the stalls.

Congress Has Endeared Itself To Masses

... "I am one of those Congressmen, who have devoted themselves to the service of the villages. From my experiences as a worker in villages, I can confidently claim that the Congress, by its service and sacrifice, has endeared itself to the so-called dumb millions, residing in lakhs of villages of this vast country. The Congress has yet to struggle hard for the attainment of its goal. I am sure that, so long as the spirit of Service and Sacrifice persists, the Congress with the co-operation of the masses will come out successful in the distant future."



GANGADHAR B. DESHPANDE.

GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE NATION

The Golden Jubilee of the Congress is essentially an occasion for thanksgiving and prayers.

The Golden Jubilee of the Congress is the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Nation. We have marched to the front rank and have rendered a good account of ourselves. Let us all join the celebrations as pilgrims of freedom and soldiers of Swaraj.

NAGINDAS T. MASTER.

Congress Has Always Been On The Side Of The Poor

(From Mr. C. F. Andrews)—

It is a very great joy to be able through the columns of the "Bombay Chronicle" and through the kindness of its editor, to join with the rest of India in the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the National Congress. Many times, in the past twenty years, I have gone out under its authority to distant lands to help in the Indian cause; and I have found the Indian National Congress everywhere loved and honoured by those who have gone abroad. It has united every race and caste and creed, and it has always been on the side of the poor.

—C. F. ANDREWS.

Future Of India In Congress Hands

The Indian National Congress is entering on her 51st year of chequered, though glorious, career. The future of the nation will be in its hands, as being the most popular organisation with a national objective. May the almighty guide it in the right path to attain the freedom of the nation, without which its growth has been stunted.

SRINIVASARAO KOWJALGI.

India And China Must Go Hand In Hand

(From Professor Shelley Wang of China)—

India and China were two ancient Eastern Empires. They have early culture. They came early into contact—as far back as 65 A. D., or even before. They respected each other's culture, learnt from each other, and never cherished any disgraceful ambitions of conquering each other.

Such a Golden Age has passed. Now, the Chinese are at a very critical moment of their existence. They will be colonised by the Japanese unless they can struggle to save themselves.

We, India and China, must go hand-in-hand to fight for our Independence. We are not isolated. All weak countries stand with us.

We stand with you, and we need your help too. We feel deepest respect for your admirable struggle during the last many years.

I hope that all the parties and all shades of opinions in India, from the National Congress to the Communists, will stand together for the emancipation of your people. In the struggle for Independence, all are friends in a nation.

—SHELLEY WANG.

At Ahmedabad

AHMEDABAD, Dec. 28.

The Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Congress commenced today in Ahmedabad with the National Flag Salutation Ceremony performed by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in Congress House. Prabhat Pheris were taken out early in the morning from various wards of the city and congregated at Congress House.—A.P.

JUBILEE IN BOMBAY

(Continued from page 1.)

rose amidst continued applause, in the course of his short speech before reading out his message to the nation said that it was a matter of sorrow to hear that there had been a clash between Congressmen and Muslims at Calcutta. So far the information received has not been conclusive and it was not possible to say how far they were true. From what had been received, it could be seen that it was a really sad occurrence. He said that he and his comrades hoped and prayed to God, that whoever might have been responsible for the reported clash, everyone would forget the incident.

All over the country there was great jubilation. India was a vast country. There were many communities, people following different religions and different paths and the incidents like the one at Calcutta might happen here and there. It was for the Congress and the people of the country interested in the welfare of the nation to find out a way of bringing about communal concord so that such incidents never occurred again. The President said that he had sent a telegram to Calcutta calling upon the organisers to suspend the Jubilee celebrations if necessary. But he hoped that nothing serious had happened.

Babu Rajendra Prasad then read out the message to the nation which was read out as a message from the Congress President in every city, town and village in the Country on Saturday.

A Solemn Call To A Solemn Pledge

The Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress is not merely an occasion of thanksgiving for those fifty years of splended sacrifice and achievement; it is a solemn call to solemn pledge to redeem India from the shame and sorrow of her political bondage and to secure for ...all times, to her children, their authentic heritage of National Independence and power.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

28th Dec. 1935.

CHOICE OF DESTINY

Santiniketan, 27-12-35.

"My warmest greetings on the happy occasion of Golden Jubilee celebrations. The destiny of India has chosen for its ally the power of soul and not that of muscle. And she is to raise the history of man from the muddy level of physical conflicts to a higher moral altitude."

--Dr. RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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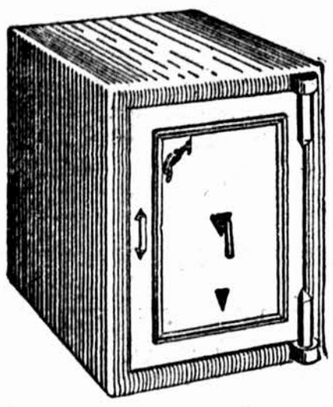

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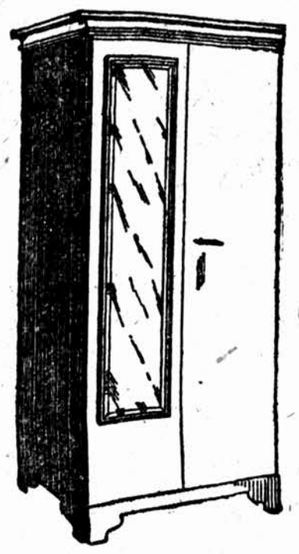
with jointless body that cannot be broken or wedged by burglars—*for Money and valuables.*



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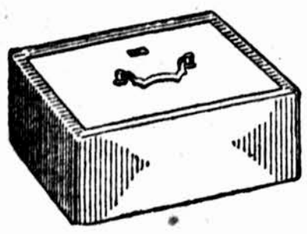
with the "Channel Grip" in doors that keeps out burglars, fire, insects and dust—*for dresses, valuable articles and important papers.*

For 37 long years Godrej has specialised in making Safes and other articles of safety for Home and Office use and has invented and patented special methods of construction that make Godrej articles the strongest and the best. No wonder all departments of the Government of India (through Indian Stores Department), Indian Army, Provincial Governments, Indian States, largest Banks and business offices and innumerable homes use Godrej Safes and other articles.

You also would be best protected and served when using Godrej Safes and Almirahs, etc., etc.



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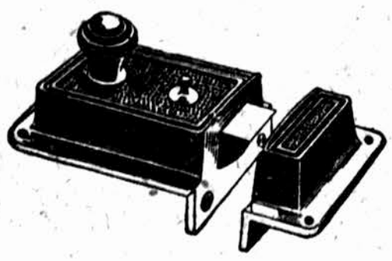
CASH & JEWEL BOXES
with detachable bottoms for fixing them to counters, etc.—*for CASH & JEWELLERY.*



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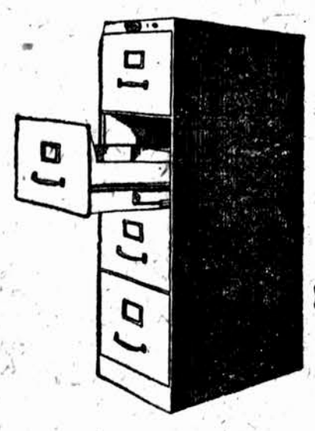
NIGHT LATCH
that admits the inmates but keeps out strangers—*for Homes.*



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with Automatic Locking device to avoid risk of theft and fire, etc.—*for Files and Documents.*

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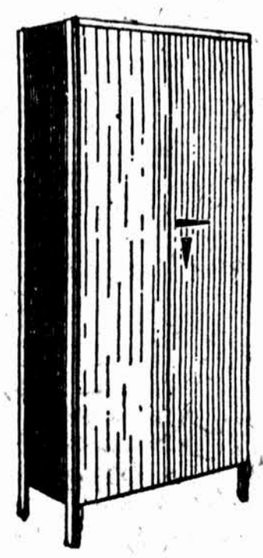
Box, Drawer & Door-Locks—*for Homes, Offices, Godowns, Mills, etc.*



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Felicitations From Friends Abroad

Congress Stands For Freedom Of Masses

Labour Party's Hopes

(From Right Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.)—

I am very glad indeed that the "Bombay Chronicle" is publishing a Special Number in order to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress.

In spite of the fact that the legislation just passed through the British Parliament falls far short of the rightful demands and claims of the Indian people, this legislation is, nevertheless, a big recognition of India's claim to self-determination. The Conservative Government has put this legislation on the Statute Book: I very much hope that when the next General Election occurs, the Labour Party will be put into power—not merely in office—and will thus be able to make good its promises in regard to turning India into a real self-governing partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

With every good wish both for this year and always.

Yours very truly,
—GEORGE LANSBURY.

* * * * * * * *

Achieve Unity

(From Right Hon. Major C. R. Attlee, M.P., Leader of His Majesty's Opposition)—

I would like to congratulate the Indian National Congress on its Jubilee. It has had a long history, and has, during this period, been instrumental in creating a political consciousness in India.

Much yet remains to be done before India can take its rightful position as a self-governing State. I earnestly hope that the people of India will achieve unity and emancipation, and that its leaders will use all endeavours to better the lot of the Indian masses.

—C. R. ATTLEE.

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Congress Must Lead

(From Right Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons)—

The Indian National Congress has for fifty years been in the forefront of the movement for National Self-Government in India. I hope that now that the major responsibility for Indian Government is to be transferred to elected Indian Legislatures, the Congress Party will play its part in leading India to unity, social and economic progress and the status attained by the other Dominions through the constitutional system of responsible government.

—ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR.

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Give Up Personal "Pooja"

(From Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala)—

After the Golden Jubilee the Congress must learn that its failure is due not for demanding too much, but for always hankering after past traditions, past events and past methods that cannot serve humanity in the future, but which can only lead to the introduction of fascist terrorism. Let us, therefore, determine that whatever our views and opinions may be on the social, economic and political life and activities of the past, we are to be concerned with the future and all political and economic organisations broad-based on national service, should unite with the determination to grant to each one utmost liberty of thought and tolerance, and to expect and to receive from each one its particular contribution that can help in the process of liberation and of solving difficulties of human life and national life from day to day.

The first step is the abandonment of the Indian habit of hero worship and personal 'pooja' and the acceptance of leadership based on knowledge and on correct laws of political and economic science.

Good luck to India, Long Life to a United National Congress of the people and cheerful confidence for the liberation of our Motherland.

—SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA.

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Congress Must Go Forward

(From Right Hon. Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P.)—

I send my most sincere greetings to the Executive of the Indian National Congress on the celebration of the Golden Jubilee. Congress has done a very great work for India in focussing the sentiment for national self-government, and in bringing before the people of Great Britain a realisation of the demands so rightly made by the Indian people for the control of their own country.

The recent India Act, typically imperialist in origin, seeks to rivet once more British financial control upon India. Until the Indian people can have complete control of their own economic organisation, they cannot be politically free. Nor is it possible for a Constitution to be forged by the British Government which will suit the needs and requirements of the great people of India.

I trust that the National Congress will go forward with their demand of freedom for the Indian people, freedom not only from the exploitation of the foreigner, but freedom from all exploitation by capitalism, so that the full benefits of the wealth and productiveness of their own land may be shared fairly amongst the people, giving them a fuller and happier life than they will have ever known.

—STAFFORD CRIPPS.

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Congress Stands For Freedom

(From Mr. Ernest Thurtle, M.P.)—

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the inception of the Indian National Congress, I have much pleasure in sending greetings to the organisation which stands for the freedom of the Indian people from foreign tutelage, and in expressing the hope that their work of liberation will be crowned with success in the not distant future.

—ERNEST THURTLE.

A Woman M. P's Greetings

(From Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P.)—

I am happy to send greetings to the Jubilee Number of the "Bombay Chronicle," celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress.

From a few devoted men, Congress has become a great instrument to express the will of the Indian people. No man has contributed more to its progress than Mahatma Gandhi. In its widening social basis, a new figure is emerging in Jawaharlal Nehru, whose Socialist teachings express the growing demand of the Indian masses for economic in addition to political freedom.

—ELLEN WILKINSON.

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England's Debt To India

(From Mr. Laurence Housman, President, Friends of India)—

As one of those who feel that England owes a debt to India, and that it is above all things important for that debt to be paid in a form which will satisfy the Indian people, my message of greeting must still be the same as it was when I had the honour of welcoming Mahatma Gandhi to England a few years ago. It is a message assuring you of our unconditional goodwill. It is not for England to decide the terms on which you exercise your rights and liberties as a self-governing people.

—LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

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Link Up With Workers And Peasants

(From Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, Editor, "New Leader" and Secretary Independent Labour Party)—

I rejoice with you in the Jubilee of the Indian National Congress. It has had a great past. For fifty years it has reflected the growing mind of the Indian people, demanding first a share in the administration, then Dominion Status and now Independence. Its next stage should be to link up the social and economic emancipation of the workers and peasants with the demand for political emancipation.

I hope and believe that long before the next Jubilee, all these aims will have been achieved and that the Indian National Congress will have become the Parliament of a free Indian people.

With comradely greetings to you in your struggle, I am, yours fraternally,

—FENNER BROCKWAY.

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Socialist M. P's Greetings

(From Mr. James Maxton, M.P.)—

It is a great pleasure to me to send a short message to the Indian people through the Congress Jubilee Number of the "Bombay Chronicle" on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Congress Celebrations.

These years represent a period of earnest struggle for Indian freedom, which although it has not yet attained success, has demonstrated the political capacity of the Indian people, and persuaded millions of people in other lands of the justice of India's demands. While looking back over the struggles of these years we can also look forward with hope and confidence to the future.

With all good wishes, yours fraternally,

—JAMES MAXTON.

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Congress Movement Cannot Fail

(From Alderman H. Riley, Leader of the Finsbury Metropolitan Borough Council and Leader of the Labour Party in Finsbury)—

I am asked by my colleagues in Finsbury to convey their fraternal greetings and good wishes to comrades in India.

Although, at home, the average Englishman is a rather complacent, even if self-righteous, individual, there is a rapidly growing opinion that if the principle of self-government holds good, then India is equally as much entitled to it as we are ourselves. That belief now stretches beyond the confines of those of us who have constantly declared that wherever people are struggling towards freedom our duty is to be with them.

Month after month, during recent years, Finsbury has enjoyed the opportunity of making closer contact with the Indian movement. Friends of India have spoken upon our platforms, and, in our inner councils, have still further enlightened us with their knowledge and experiences. One good friend, Dr. C L. Katial is Deputy Mayor of our Borough and Chairman of our Public Health Committee.

We have enjoyed their comradeship; we are indebted to them for our greater understanding of India's problems; we admire the spirit of a movement that with such courage and devotion cannot fail.

We wish the Indian National Congress every success in its Jubilee Celebrations, a landmark in the struggle for the emancipation of the masses of India.

—H. RILEY.

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Freedom Can Come From Masses Alone

(From Mr. W. M Gallacher, M.P.)—

Around the Indian National Congress is woven the story of 50 years of the struggle of a people wishing to attain their complete independence. Like the old Irish Parnellite Party, the Congress leaders in their early days placed their hopes in the so-called British Radical Party in Parliament.

Time and experience have made them wiser as to the true character of an Imperialist Parliament, even though it drapes itself with the cloak of democracy.

The Congress has made a big advance towards its goal of complete independence, but it remains for the Indian National Congress

(Continued on page 10)

Greetings From Across The Seas

(Continued from page 9)

to broaden its basis and make of itself a living organism of struggle by the masses who alone can free the people of India from Imperialist thraldom.

With all best wishes for ever-increasing successes, I remain, yours fraternally,

—W. M. GALLACHER.

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Congress Will Win

(From Dr. C. L. Katial, Deputy Mayor of Finsbury, London)—

As an Indian who has stayed abroad, I realise that the Indian National Congress during its chequered career of fifty years, particularly under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, has contributed immensely to bring home to the foreigners that India is a nation worthy of her past. Although the diehard Tory imperialists must prefer to shut their eyes, there is no denying in Great Britain that India is entitled to her political freedom as other nations of the world.

The Congress has nothing to despair in spite of the unwanted Government of India Act of 1935. Its record of fifty years constitutes a series of dauntless and heroic fights against all wrongs. We, who have been unfortunately cut away from our motherland, are confident that the Congress will never die. We are confident that it will in our time, enable India to attain the goal for which it has struggled unceasingly and energetically.

In all humility I salute the Congress on its 50th birthday. Long Live the Congress.

—C. L. KATIAL.

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May The Congress Go From Strength To Strength

(From A. Maude Royden)—

When I look back on the course of events since the foundation of the Indian National Conference I am deeply impressed by its progress and achievements. When I consider the cost of that progress in human suffering I am filled with admiration and regret—regret at the suffering, admiration for the achievement. May the Congress go from strength to strength till it has won for India an absolute right to decide her own place and destiny in the great world of nations.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

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Greetings From Peoples Of All Nations

(From Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, International Secretary of the League Against Imperialism and National Independence)—

All those who are striving in whatever country they may be, for the emancipation of the subject nations of the world find a continuous and ever-growing inspiration in the struggle which the Indian and the Burmese peoples are conducting indomitably for freedom.

It is my privilege as the International Secretary of the League against Imperialism to convey to the people of India and Burma through their National Congress, which is celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the National struggle, the sincere greetings of the oppressed nations all over the world, some millions of whom are enrolled as members of the League, together with the fervent hope that the Indian national struggle may victoriously accomplish its supreme objective.

We note that hundreds of Indians have been held in jail for long months without trial under the Bengal, Assam and Burma Criminal Law Amendment Acts, 1930.

We shall not relax our efforts until these comrades have been brought forth from the jails.

We condemn the action of Earl of Willingdon in forcing into law the India Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1935, after it had been rejected by the Legislative Assembly, more especially as the effect of this autocratic step will be to check the train of thought, which throughout the world to-day seeks to build up a new organisation of human forces, based on those scientific foundations, which can ensure the protection of progress, with peace and plenty for entire humanity.

The British people in ever greater numbers are uniting on the international front to establish the freedom of all peoples and so to ensure world peace.

Greetings to the Indian National Congress from the peoples of the world.

—R. BRIDGEMAN.

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Above All, Toleration Needed

(From Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P.)—

Permit me to offer to the Indian National Congress my hearty congratulations upon attaining its 50th birthday. Half a century in the life-time of an ancient people is but an evening gone. And yet, in that brief period, out of the sacrifice and devotion of far-seeing leaders and loyal followers, a mighty movement has grown up in India. Wisely led, it can become a power capable of infinite good. India stands at the threshold of a great and glorious future, in the moulding of which the Indian Congress members must accept a tremendous share of responsibility. They have within their own ranks great resources of leadership and of scholarship. The task of self-government will demand from them all wisdom, knowledge and understanding. And perhaps, above all, toleration. Differences of religion, of caste and of creed constitute serious difficulties, which only the wisest statesmanship can circumvent. But India is worthy of the best from all Indians. Let none ever offer her any service less than the best.

—MORGAN JONES.

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Indians Must Offer United Front

(From Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain)—

I have very great pleasure in sending the following message for publication in the Special Congress Jubilee Number of the "Bombay Chronicle":—

Fraternal greetings to the people of India on the 50th Anniversary of the Indian National Congress.

The Communist Party of Great Britain recognizes that the celebration of this anniversary marks a period when the national liberation struggle is entering a most critical stage.

The clear intentions of the British Government to impose upon the Indian people against their wishes and desires the new Constitution, is rousing mass opposition throughout India. That the Government fear this rising mass opposition is shown by the recent action of Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India, in certifying the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1935). This most reactionary and repressive Act is enforced to break and suppress any opposition which the imposition of the new Constitution will call forth. Despite this, the history of the Indian people under British rule has shown many examples of heroic sacrifices and struggle for liberation, and we can look with confidence to many more such examples in the forthcoming struggles.

To meet successfully the difficult struggles ahead, we feel that the most urgent need is the establishment of the broadest possible united front of workers, peasants and middle classes. Congress workers, trade unionists, peasant organisations, etc., forming a united front against the new Constitution and for the liberation of India.

In this struggle, the Indian people can rely upon the assistance of our representative in the House of Commons, William Gallacher, M.P., and we pledge the unstinted support of the working class of this country to do everything in our power to assist you in your struggle for freedom.

—H. POLLITT.

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Need Of Hour—Ideological Transformation

(From Swami Avyaktananda, President, Swami Ramakrishna Vivekananda Society, London)—

India has become conscious of her historic mission. Throughout the nineteenth century she has systematised her spiritual culture and proclaimed the ideal of national and international solidarity. For her, this twentieth century is going to be a shining epoch of self-expression in all spheres of life.

An ideological transformation is the desideratum of the hour. It has to be brought about by blending Hindu-Moslem-Christian spirituality and Western humanism at its best. New legal, political, economic and social conceptions have to be formed. A root-and-branch reform has to be introduced by means of a comprehensive system of mass education along constructive lines.

Every Indian, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, has to be conscious of the fundamental right of attaining the highest stature of physical, intellectual, aesthetic, moral and spiritual greatness, and of the fundamental duty of merging the individual interests into the supreme interests of the nation.

A thorough modernisation in every phase of life, without detriment to the spiritual ideal, will bring into being the equitable society for which India has been struggling. May Modern India realise the 'Zeitgeist' and rise to the occasion.

—SWAMI AVYAKTANANDA.

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Organise The Masses

(From Mr. Ben Bradley, Secretary, League Against Imperialism (British Section)—

The rise and growth of the Indian National Congress, covering the past fifty years, marks the period during which British Imperialism rounded off her rule. This has been carried through by a series of steady steps such as the Morley-Minto Reforms; then the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; now the new Government of India Act. This latest measure is viewed by the overwhelming majority of Indians as being a monstrosity, outwardly made to appear as a liberal advance, but in reality calculated to place greater burdens upon the shoulders of the masses in India and strengthening foreign political control.

In the struggle for liberation the Indian National Congress has played an important role during these 50 years. The menace which the shadow of the New Constitution means for the people of India will, I am confident, be met by the determined opposition of the people of India.

The great strike struggles of the workers and the movements for liberation of recent years have proved the deep capacity of the people of India to struggle and have provided a mine of experience which will be of tremendous use in the coming struggles. The great opposition to the New Constitution can be the rallying ground for a mighty movement of struggle for Indian independence.

Lessons of the past have shown the need, if a really vigorous movement is to develop, for the immediate organisation of the broadest possible front of struggle against imperialism.

The tasks confronting the great mass of Indian people are enormous. The struggle will not be easy.

To assist you in this struggle the League Against Imperialism (British Section) will do its utmost to rally the support of the working class of this country. We send most sincere Fraternal Greetings on the 50th anniversary of the Indian National Congress.

—BEN BRADLEY.

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Make Congress Really National

(From Dr. C. B. Vakil, ex-Secretary and ex-President, London Indian National Congress Branch)—

The aspirations and expectations of the founders and their immediate successors are now realized more than 100 per cent. One of the past Presidents had entered the Whitehall sanctuary. Indians now are in Viceroy's, Governors' and Secretary of State's "Cabinets" and in various services.

These "reforms" have not brought us real prosperity and self-respect. So, my message to Congressmen is, make the Congress really National. Formulate a programme for the advancement of material well-being of the whole community as one family and not all classes. Fight for it by all possible means. Wish good-bye to metaphysics and religious fervour for National Sovereign Independence.

—C. B. VAKIL.

The Congress—Its Phases

(By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE)

The Congress was born in 1885. At first the movement was tolerated—was given a long rope—and so it began to grow. Fifteen years of comparatively harmless constitutional agitation were enough to stir the conscience of the people and consolidate them and, on the other hand, to open the eyes off the Government to the coming storm. With the opening of the 20th century, people began to feel restless and the Government uneasy. With the partition of Bengal, the storm broke. The Congress entered on a new era—and just in time to baffle the Government. After a period of consolidation came the time for attack—and the weapon off attack was a non-violent and economic one—boycott. For a decade this new idea waxed strong. Along with it grew up the movement of constructive Swadeshi—economic in the first instance and gradually embracing every aspect of the nation's life. With the outbreak of the Great War, the Indian movement entered on another phase. The War raised hopes in every breast and the Wilsonian slogan of self-determination was in the air. But after the war came disillusionment and the Black Bills. The soul of the country writhed in agony but what could be done? Then came Mahatma Gandhi with his cry of non-co-operation—carrying the non-violent fight from the economic to the political sphere. His appearance was most opportune. Just when the Government were preparing to lure the people into the meshes of dyarchy—the fight entered on another phase—completely baffling the authorities for the time being.

SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE

For fifteen years the struggle has gone on with variations in tactics from time to time. Throughout all these years of agony and struggle, the country has been progressing. But the goal off freedom still remains unrealised.

What Are We To Do?

Once again the Government has laid its net to entrap us. But should the fly invade the spider's parlour?

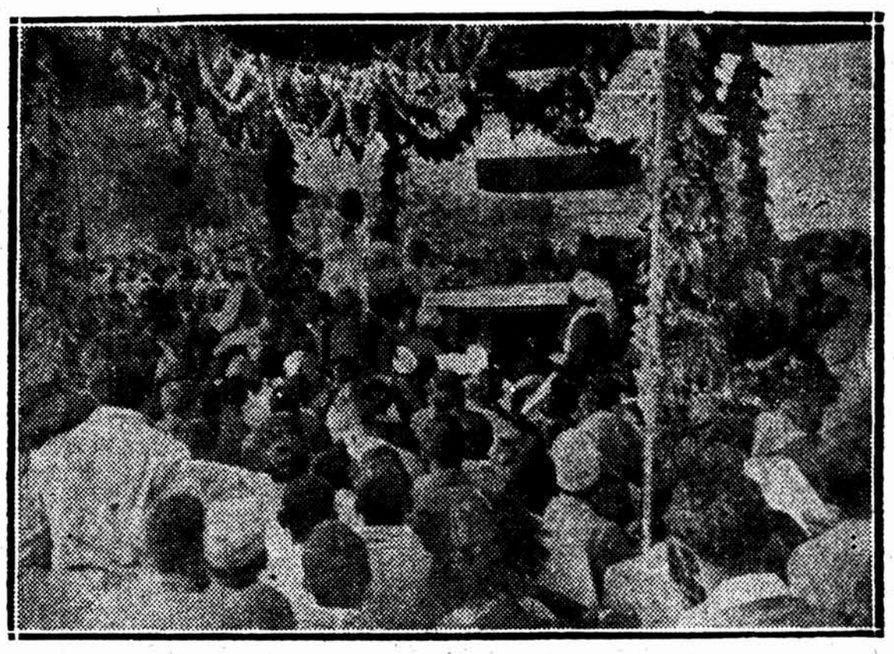
One thing is certain. The Government know all the plans, tactics and "modus operandi" of the non-co-operators. Civil-Disobedience can no longer surprise the Government as it did in 1930—nor will the Government give a long rope to the Civil Disobedience movement once again. In the Government armoury, necessary weapons will always be kept in readiness to strike at any revival of that movement.

But we have not come to the limit of human ingenuity. Nor have our British rulers a monopoly of human wisdom. That is our only hope.

The Congress will soon enter on a new phase. The logic of India's history demands it. If we are a live nation—as I believe we are and as I believe we have demonstrated—we shall evolve a new plan and a new strategy which will once again baffle the Government. The erstwhile leaders of the Congress have played their part nobly and gloriously—all honour to them. We owe much to them—we are what we are, largely because of them. But the struggle must be continued by all means and if the present leadership fails to usher in the new era, the country will reluctantly turn to another leadersip.

We have so long fought for liberty alone. At last, we have realised that if we want liberty we must accept equality. Democracy to be real, must be not merely political but social also. That is the justification of Mahatma's Harijan movement. That is also the raison d'etre of the Congress Socialist Party.

The different ideas tendencies and programmes of the last 50 years have to be synthesised and crystallised into a new Party with a new programme and plan of action. This synthesis I call "SAMYAVADA."



Pandit MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYAJI'S 75th birthday was celebrated last week at a large public gathering, held in Benares, under the chairmanship of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Freedom Must Be Won

(From Mr. Reginald Reynolds, Directing Secretary, the 'No More War' Movement)—

The Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress will be an occasion of great rejoicing among all Indians who desire the freedom of their country.

With this rejoicing many Englishmen—of whom I am one—will wish to associate themselves. It is, however, a matter of shame to us that the Congress Jubilee is not to be celebrated in a free India; and if we can still rejoice with you in spite of this fact it is because we believe that the Indian National Congress will yet celebrate another Jubilee in a land that its valiant efforts will have made free for ever.

Let it be clearly understood, in spite of all the promises of British politicians—in spite even of the existence of real friends of India in this country—that freedom is something India can and must 'win for herself.' Neither our present Government, nor a Labour Government will give any real freedom to the Indian people; and those of us in this country, who are pledged to struggle for Indian independence, can only make headway in our work when the efforts and sacrifices of heroic Indians force the attention of the Press and public opinion throughout the world, as they did in 1930.

—REGINALD REYNOLDS.

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With Unity Will Come Emancipation

(From Mr. Kaikhoshro Pherozeshah M. Mehta, son of late Sir Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, and President of the Parsee Association of Europe)—

I hardly feel competent to accede to the request made by the Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle" for a message on the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress, which falls on the 28th December. But no Indian, wherever he may be, can resist the call and I less so, when I consider that my revered father, the late Sir P. M. Mehta, was not only the founder of that national paper, but was among the foremost of those who, fifty years ago, initiated what must be considered an event of the greatest importance in the political annals of India, which focussed the political thought and aspiration of Indians, laid the foundations for a broader basis of constitutional administration, initiated important changes in the polity of the country, and voiced the political impulses of an awakening nationalism. This was no easy task, when we consider the apathy, hostility and dissension that it had to encounter, emphasized by the ignorance of the masses.

The objectives and principles which were the guiding lights in the earlier stages of its work, have remained and must remain the same. The methods have since changed from time to time with the change in conditions, the experience and the progressive development which the movement engendered. The pace may have been slow and halting and the results so far attained may be considered incommensurate. This is bound to be so and will continue to be so as long as, in the attainment of our ultimate goal, we let our divergent interests remain irreconcilable, and fail to grasp the fundamentals of political unity. Differences there always will be between different sections of a nation in so vast a country as India, with racial, religious, social divergencies, but our nationhood is built on our common interests, rights, our common sufferings, aspirations and ideals. With unity alone will come emancipation and only then will the Congress have fulfilled its great mission, and discharged the sacred duty which we all, of whatever class or creed, owe to the land of our birth.

—KAIKHOSHRO PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA.

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Don't Overlook Overseas Indians

(From Mr. Beharilal N. Anantani, Editor, the "Zanzibar Voice," and Secretary of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar)—

The past record of the Congress in the matter of Indians overseas, as in many others, is glorious indeed, but we cannot rest on the laurels of the past. The curtain has fallen on fifty years of noble endeavours under great leaders, but the present is still and always with us and we must ever look to the solution of its problems. The position of Indians overseas has been fast reaching a crisis and India's nationals all over the world expect the Indian National Congress to take a major portion of the share of the battle. It is earnestly to be hoped that Congressmen of to-day will rise to the appreciation of this fact. And, I may remind them that in a world of ever-growing pressure upon the rights of Indians in every country of the world, to the mind of Colonial Indian the test of a real existence of national connection lies in the ability of the Indian National Congress in their life and death struggle.

—BEHARILAL N. ANANTANI.

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Congress--A National Asset Of Immense Value

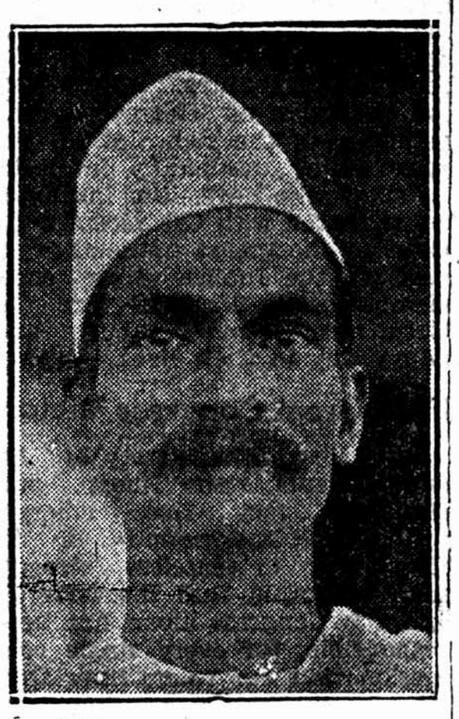
To Destroy Or Weaken This Great Institution Or Even To Lower Its Prestige, Would Be Seeking Destruction Of Best Interests Of Country

(By Babu Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress).

I have just completed a prolonged tour in the South. I have visited practically the whole of the Peninsula including the Nizam's Dominion and Travancore. My itinerary has covered the provinces of Berar, Karnatak which includes the Mysore territory, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Andhradesha and Kerala and I have been taken to most of the towns and many important villages and places little known outside. I must have covered 8000 miles in motor cars and some 3000 miles by railway apart from the journey to and from the Provinces concerned. The number of meetings addressed must be something like 500 and the audiences must total not less say 10 lakhs of people. I am stating these facts only to indicate the wide extent of the tour. Throughout this prolonged tour I found everywhere enthusiasm for the Congress amongst the masses generally. When Mahatma Gandhi toured in the country large manageable crowds used to assemble and one might think that the demonstrations were for the great personality of Mahatmaji and not for the institution of the Congress. During my tour the people assembled in their thousands at meetings and on way sides and decorated their towns and houses and even village roads, with flags, festoons, buntings and had illumination in many places, if the visit happened to be in the night, not because they were going to receive a Mahatma and have his "Darshan, but simply to receive the President of the Indian National Congress. Nothing could give one a more striking proof of the far reaching influence of the Congress than what was seen by me during this tour. I felt that we have moved a stage further when I realised that all this homage and demonstration of love was not for an individual but for the great institution which has been working for the emancipation of the country. I, too. was not prepared for such demonstration in places which are little accessible to outside influence.

Masses Loyal To Congress As Ever

I ought to note another point which struck me. I visited the area and some of the important villages in Karnatak where there had been a no-tax compaign during the Civil Disobedience movement. The people had suffered immensely. In addition to penalties which other Satyagrahis had to suffer everywhere like imprisonment, lathi charges, fines—individual and collective-punitive taxes, etc., the



BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD.

people of these places had had to suffer loss of property by confiscation on sale of their lands and even homesteads on account of non-payment of taxes due. and there were not a few who had been literally reduced from the position of well to do cultivators to that of homeless and landless labourers willing to work but without work. All this they had undergone on the call of the Congress and one might be prepared for a reaction and bitterness amongst them against the Congress. But I found no trace of it and was received by them not only with the same cordiality but also with the same pomp as elsewhere. I talked to individuals in out of the way villages and found them as firm, cheerful and loyal to the Congress as they could ever have been before, and this was so inspite of propaganda that their ruin had been brought about by the Congress.

A Great National Asset

When I saw all this I felt the Indian National Congress was not only a national organisation but a great national asset which was of such immense value in our struggle for freedom. I have felt more convinced than ever that it should be the duty of every Indian to add to this asset and, in any case, to preserve it intact. It is necessary to emphasise this, as a tendency is discernible in some people in some places to run down the great institution, because it happens for the time being to hold views which are not acceptable to them or because its programme does not find favour with them. The doors of the Congress have always been open to all and the

(Continued on page 18)

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Congress-Greatest Force Making For National Liberty

It Has Never Faltered, Brooked No Compromise With Its Ideals, Never Failed In Its Leadership Of Country And Is Bound To Take National Bark To Its Destined Haven Of Independence And Freedom Before Long

(By Dr. M. A. ANSARI.)

A nation's fight for her freedom is a slow-drawn process. Those who expect quick results are doomed to disappointment. A nation only loses its freedom after a process of continuous degradation. Regeneration, therefore, has to be slow, and would result from many-sided activity. A mere declaration of Indian independence, were it even to be made, by the British Parliament would not make India free. A nation to be independent, must first acquire those qualities and produce those conditions of life, must fodge irresistible sanctions based on a sovereign will of the people, must inculcate and manifest an unbending sense of national self-respect and dignity, and must lastly weld its component parts into a solid indivisible whole, before it can deserve freedom and what is more, sustain it. The Indian National Congress may not have achieved independence for India but during the fifty glorious years of its existence, it has certainly paved the ground, for that great achievement, and from being a dream, brought independence within the pale of realisable ideals.

The Congress during these many years, has been the one great driving force behind Indian nationalism. It has been the only organisation, through which Indian nationalism has found expression. It has belonged to no party, and to no community. It has stood for the whole country. Its first concern has been the masses, the real backbone of the country. It has been the champion of the poor, the helpmate of the rich, and the guardian of national interests. To those who have been intimately associated with the recent activities of the greeat national organisation, the Jubilee which commemorates its fiftieth year of birth, must seem a proud and happy day in their lives.

First Great Congress Victory

As I survey the history of its achievements, the most outstanding fact that emerges against the background of its fifty years of ceaseless struggle for freedom, is, that the Congress and the Congress alone has been responsible, for every single concession that our rulers have from time to time made to Indian public opinion. The first great struggle in which the Congress engaged itself aganist the alien administration, arose out of the partition of Bengal. Even though the issue was of a provincial nature, it assumed nation-wide importance, since the partition scheme affected the prosperity and welfare of millions of people. Under the leadership of men like Surendranath Bannerji, Bipin Chandra Paul, Dadabhoy Naoroji,

DR. M. A. ANSARI.

Lokamanya Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Lala Lajpat Rai, the Congress started a nation-wide movement, for the restoration of the unity of Bengal, and for the achievement of responsible government. For four years the Congress struggled and fought. Men, young and old, made heroic sacrifices for the great cause. In 1911, the first victory was won. The partition of Bengal was set aside, prisoners were released, and the Minto-Morley Reforms were introduced.

Home Rule Movement

The Minto-Morley Reforms did not satisfy the political aspirations of the Congress or the people. They were a halting and inadequate concession to Indian public opinion. Soon, people began to feel that they had asked for bread, and they had been offered. stone. They wanted the whole bread while they had been given only crumbs. In the wake of the Reforms came the Great War. British statesmen made appeals to India for men and money, in the name of civilization and democracy. Congress leaders like Lokmanya Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi responded to that appeal. But the war created a new restlessness in the country, a fresh craving for liberty. The Congress put forward a demand for Home Rule, a demand on all fours with that of the Irish nationalists. Behind the agitation for Home Rule were such political stalwarts as Mrs. Annie Besant, Mahatma Gandhi, Vithalbhai Patel, Vallabh Bhai Patel, Kelkar, Lokmanya Tilak, Aney C.R. Das, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Jawanarlal Nehru, Joseph

(Continued on page 20)

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Congress Connotes Honour Of India

It Stands For Political And Economic Freedom Of The Country

(BY BHULABHAI J. DESAI, M. L. A., Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly.)

Though the word "Congress" is used in connection with numerous organisations, democratic or otherwise, in many parts of the world, to the mind and heart of the Indian people the word "Congress" stands for their national organisation, the Indian National Congress, which stands for the freedom of the country. The history of the evolution of the Congress is the history of the growing struggle for freedom in India. It would be worth while to say that in its essential objective, the Congress has remained the same throughout the course of its existence.

THE FIRST CONGRESS.

The first Congress was held a quarter of a century after the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The feeling of the people during that interval and its dislike towards the Government of India by the British was the reaction from the results of the past. It was almost accepted that peace, though imposed by a foreigner, was to be preferred to the mutual strife which had prevailed before the Mutiny. The mind of the Indian people at large was in a dazed condition and became for a time unable to consider the larger human aspects of the problem of Self-Government. It accepted the inferior status and did not struggle against it, either inwardly or outwardly. It was a resigned submission or submissive resignation rarely to be found in the history of the world.

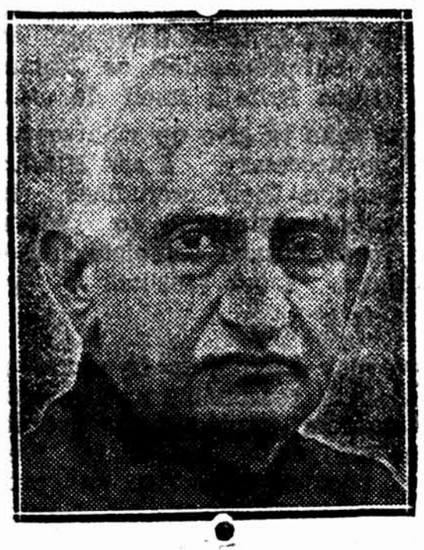
BROKEN PLEDGES.

The first founders of the Congress in 1885 recognised the necessity of a popular organisation because by that time a section of the upper middle class had had the advantage of English education. As this is not the proper place to examine the motive behind the system of education, the fact must be recognised that in a theoretical way and by a study of history the then educated people began to understand the abstract value of representative institutions and representative government on the Western model. Between the years 1885-1905, efforts were made to get for Indians, men and women, a larger share in the public services together with the mitigation of some of the necessary evils of a foreign rule. The services rendered by the Congress during these years, however, were to create, though in a narrow circle, the first beginning of a public opinion. In 1905-06 in the abstract, the goal of the Indian National Congress was defined to be the attainment of Swaraj. It was still hoped at that period that a sense of justice and a natural love of freedom would induce Great Britain to leave India to govern itself within a reasonable period of time. The leaders at that time and upto the year 1917/18 had still faith in a grant of self-government as an act of justice or beneficence. Though people thought that it was possible to gain freedom by argument, they did not fully appreciate that freedom of India was not consistent with the maintenance of the Empire of Britain because the Empire idea necessarily involves a part of the Empire as a subject-nation feeding their ambitions both politically and economically.

ADVENT OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

In the first flush of the War in Europe, all the allies and particularly Britain began to make promises of freeing the subject races of the world as being one of the objects of the War of Freedom that they were waging. It is not necessary to say that in its inception, it was a hypocritical declaration but the fact remains that as soon as the emergency was over, the promises were forgotten and there were statements declaring that such promises were never intended to be fulfilled.

Then came the last phase which now continues, of the Indian National Congress—the phase associated with Mahatma Gandhi and the Satyagraha movement including both its aspects of non-co-operation and non-violent struggle expressed by the simple Indian word "Satyagraha". Mahatma Gandhi realised for the first time the potency of the instrument of non-violent voluntary suffering without retaliation in order that even the greatest unbeliever may be affected by the sincerity of our cause. He experimented with that instrument in South Africa in the cause of the freedom and right of a very small section of our countrymen. It was about that time that Mahatma Gandhi began to acquire a certain amount of influence over, and interest in, the Indian masses. He also realised that the Indian people would never attain their goal by means of their national institution unless the masses are with them and behind them. It was then that we began to realise that our struggle must assume an entirely different form, must take a very different line and must assimilate within it the bulk of the people. There was a time when the Government treated the Indian National Congress with contempt and as not being worth any notice, as a body representing a few discontented and educated men—their favourite phrase in those days was "the microscopic minority of India." What all we did was to meet at the end of every year and pass a few resolutions. Our highest appeal then lay in forwarding those resolutions to the Viceroy or to the Secretary of State for their proper consideration. Our appeal since the year 1917 has been not in forwarding the resolutions to the Viceroy or to the Secretary of State but in making them known to the last peasant and worker of India. In other words we began to realise that our eyes must turn not outwards towards those who govern



MR. BHULABHAI DESAI.

us but inwards towards those who are fellow-sufferers in subjection. The deliverance must be sought in the suffrage of the Indian people and their support.

SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN.

Ultimately in the year 1920-21, the Congress for the first time under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi made an effort to experiment with the great principles of non-co-operation and Satyagraha as the first step towards lifting the inertia from the Indian mind that the Indian people were incapable of making any effort towards the achievement of their freedom. The history of that effort also is shortly told. By reasons and circumstances over which human efforts and human agencies had no control, perhaps a few thousand people joined in that great movement believing in the correctness of its principles. Another period of 8 years elapsed, and it was in the year 1928 that once more a similar struggle commenced in a small area in Gujarat by way of protest against the enhancement of land revenue. At the risk of forfeiting all their properties, the peasants concerned took a vow that they would not pay the enhanced tax so that they could at least demonstrate to the Indian people that it was possible by means of Satyagraha to achieve their goal. That particular Satyagraha actually achieved its narrow and immediate object and the Government of Bombay yielded to the pressure and appointed a Commission with the assistance of the Congress. Ultimately the whole enhancement was got rid of and though the Government did not admit it, indirectly they agreed to a ten per cent reduction of revenue.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

Then followed the great struggle, the history of which is too well-known to require narration here. Despite contempt, ridicule and every form of physical suppression, the mind of the Indian people at large has come to recognise that freedom can be won for the people by themselves and that struggle and sacrifice based on truth and non-violence constitute the only method of gaining the country's freedom.

On the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Congress, India stands firmly convinced of its right to freedom which it can only assert by its own strength, and I have every confidence that before the 60th anniversary comes to be celebrated, India would have attained the substance of freedom. The Indian National Congress connotes the honour and self-respect of India and stands for the political and economic freedom of the Indian people.

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Keep Loyal To Creed Of Unity

Discipline Above Jealousy, Unity Above Party, Nationality Above Caste, Country Above All, Must Be Congress Motto

By Sir GOVIND MADGAONKAR, I.C.S. (Retired)

Whatever its failings and its mistakes, the Congress embodies our national ideal of an India, united and prosperous, self-governing and free.

To that ideal, notwithstanding external opposition or internal dissensions, we must hold fast. Reactionary measures, such as the new Constitution and repressive legislation, must not depress us for long. Whether it takes years or generations or centuries, a people, who tenaciously cherish and serve this ideal will, sooner or later, attain their goal, as Italy and Ireland, Poland and Czechoslovakia have shown. But let this defeat at last and at least teach us the necessity and the wisdom of union and the futility and folly of party shibboleths, of mutual recriminations and responsibility for defeat. Let us avoid and learn to see through cant and judge ourselves, our leaders and our rulers by deeds and not by words.

USELESS QUIBBLING.

We are still far too prone to think and to convince ourselves that by making a speech or writing an article we have conferred a great favour on the country. We are still not past the stage of quibbling and ringing the changes over the appropriate word of self-government. National progress is not to be achieved by poses or by phrases or by schoolboy essays on the best form of government. When we have achieved Swaraj it will be time enough to consider Fascism and Socialism and the appropriate form of constitution and its details. For myself I recognise only two political parties in India—the British Rulers and we, the Indian ruled, of whatever class.

DISPROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION.

Just now when we Hindus by reason of our caste system can be played upon and cut up into touchables and untouchables and Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the caste Hindu in general and the caste Brahmin in particular is the anvil for all, to abuse and to smite. Although the caste Hindus constitute a clear majority of the population of British India, they are given only 86 of the 250 British Indians seats in the Assembly. The Muslims on the other hand who constitute approximately a quarter of the population of British India, are given 1|3rd of the British Indian seats in both Houses.

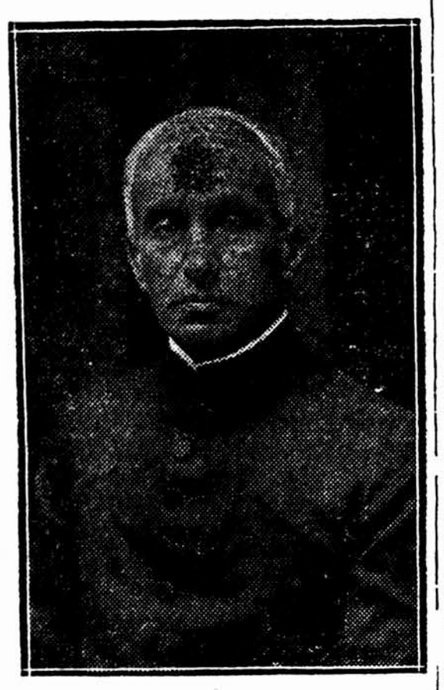
The disproportion is most obvious in the case of the British residents. Taking British India as a whole, one seat is allotted in the Council of State to every 1 2|3 million persons and one seat in the Assembly to every one million persons. Yet 7 seats in the Upper House and 14 seats in the Lower House are allotted to only 75,000 British residents—a figure which excludes some 60,000 British troops.

HOLD FAST TO CREED.

As a caste Hindu I would not grudge these seats to Muslims or to the depressed if the New Constitution meant a definite progress to our goal and not, as it does, an indefinite reaction, in which Princes, Muslims, non-Brahmins and depressed are to be tools, to preserve India for all time as politically a dependency and economically a market for Britain, with never-ending professions of all this policy being in our welfare.

But even so and while reserving to myself liberty, if I can, to modify this and other patent injustice, I decline to give up my ideal. On the contrary, I ask the younger generation to make of it a religion to be lived up to and to be propagated as Japan, and Great Britain itself do, and for its sake to give up whatsoever may be necessary. I ask Hindus to abandon their prejudices in favour of caste and to allow and to encourage complete intermarriage. I ask Muslims to be Sufis.

We may each keep to our own creed in a reasonable and practical manner, provided we are liberal and not fanatical. The Parsi, because he is rich and progressive, the Muslim, the non-Brahmins and the depressed, because he is backward—all these who hold aloof on whatever pretext from the National movement are acting contrary to the interests not only of the country, but also, and in the long run even, of their own community. In fact, they are asking the caste Hindu to fight and to bear the brunt of battle and to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, so that they themselves might enjoy the fruits. And on the top of it all,



SIR G. D. MADGAONKAR.

they will call the Congress a Hindu movement because of their own refusal to join. The nationalist Hindu, who joins the Mahasabha or asks for justice to the Hindu, is immediately denounced as being communal; but any one else, apparently, may ask for special treatment at the expense of the Hindu and remain a nationalist.

HINDU UNITY ESSENTIAL.

To me Hindu unity is a necessary constituent; perhaps it may even turn out to be a necessary preliminary to Hindu-Muslim unity and to Indian Nationality. To inflame and to widen divisions and animosities is easy. Let ours be the nobler even, if it is the harder, role of the conciliator.

Unless we wish to sink deeper and deeper into the mire of poverty and dependence, we must change all this; we must all fight shoulder to shoulder; we must rise above theology and superstition and childish disputes over temples and mosques, processions and beef. We must refuse to be cajoled through our vanity or to be bullied through our timidity. Discipline above jealousy, unity above party, nationality above caste, creed or province, and country above all—this must be the motto of the Congress, and of every one of us.

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought,
"From out the storied past, and used
"Within the present, but transfused
"Through future time by power of thought."

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Babu Rajendra Prasad

The Secret Of His Success Is His Strong Character: One Sees In His Towering Personality A Soul Of Eagle Force, Striving To Rise Above The Vulgar Appeal To Mob Passions

(By C. H. PATHY)

It was a cool and pleasant day in Panuary, 1932. Mahatma Gandhi had returned from his Round Table Conference mission, weary and disillusioned. An Italian journal, in a rare piece of imaginative interview had already forecasted that the Indian leader would walk the path of fire once again. Messrs. Jawaharlal and Tawari in the United Provinces had already started the campaign against the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Gujarat was straining at the leash while in the distant Frontier, Abdul Gaffar Khan was getting impatient.

Gandhi landed at Bombay to to hear that Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Sherwani and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had already been arrested. Lord Willingdon was at Calcutta, and the request for an interview by the Indian leader was turned down. Mahatma himself had to pay the penalty. He was arrested at "Mani Bhavan" in the early hours of the morning and India was to plunge into the struggle once again.

"Go and get a story from Babu Rajendra Prasad who has just returned from Bombay," spoke the editor of a Patna daily to me excitedly, after scanning the cryptic message announcing the saint's arrest.

When I was boarding a tonga to go to that simple retreat between Bankipur and Dinapur, known as the Sadakat Ashram, which was the abode of the Bihar leader, a Congress volunteer bumping into me exclaimed: "Have you not heard the news? Rajen Babu was arrested this morning."

The trial inside the Patna jail was swift and short and Rajendra Prasad was taken away to the distant Hazaribagh jail to undergo a long sentence. He was released after one year and then again arrested. It actually needed an earthquake for the Bihar Government to set him free Despite his failing health, he toured the length and breadth of his stricken Province and threw himself to the task of organising relief with a single minded devotion which won universal recognition.

It was but natural that the the Congress crown should descend on him, but the shy follower of the Mahatma who shuns the applause of the market place and prefers the sedate seclusion of the Sadakat Ashram, magnificently announced that Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan should be awarded that signal honour. It was only when the latter declined that Rajendra Prasad accepted to preside over the Bombay Congress.

A Career Of Brilliance

Born in the obscure village of Chapra in 1884, Mr. Rajendra was marked by the Fates for a career of brilliance. He swept the board of academic distinction, standing first in the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University as well as in M.A. and M.L. Ater a brief career as a Professor, he entered the undefined profession of law and soon became the leader of the Patna bar. Had he cared for the ephemeral cakes of the world, he could hacve easily have become a judge long ago, rolling in velvet. A great linguist, equally brilliant in handling Hindi, Gujarati and Mahratti, he could even have shone as a scholar.

But public service called. He resisted the blandishments of the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, inviting him to join the Servants of India Society, only to fall into the magic trap of Mahatma Gandhi.

It was the jute agitation in Champaran, just after Gandhiji's return from South Africa that brought these two great souls together.

When the Sabarmati leader after capturing the Congress, announced his triple programme of boycott, Rajendra Babu, hardly 40, threw his lucrative practice to the winds and entering the fray, walked to prison.

After release, his whole outlook on life changed. Spurning the luxuries which he could easily afford, he retired to a hermitage on the banks of the Ganges and engaged himself in quiet, unostentatious work, living the life of a *kisan*, eating his simple food, sharing his joys and sorrows.

The Secret Of His Magnetism

Many would have noticed him in meetings of the Indian National Congress, sitting with an aloof look. Eyes framed in a sorrow haunted face. Nothing in him of the ardour, the vehemence or the impetous rashness of the young Kashmiri Pandit from Prayag nor the cool cynicism of Mr. Rajagopalachari. He has not the power over the winged words like Mr. Satyamurti nor the intellectual incandescence of Dr. Pattabi. But ask any Congressman in the country as to whom he revers next to Gandhiji and the answer is: "Of course, Rajendra Babu".

What is the secret of this mighty magnetism?

Firstly, it is the purity of his private life, the probity of his motives, the relentless selfiessness of his sacrifices. He does not stress the pose of omnipotence nor beat the big drum of self-advertisement. There is nothing in him of the intolerance which persecuted Dr. Besant, burned Savonarola and crucified Christ. He is not out to do anything spectacular, like Subash. With an intellect piercing like steel and a mind as sharp as a razor, he has completely subordinated himself to the Mahatma, whose word is gospel to him.

His sensitiveness to pain and suffering is remarkable. He weeps profusely wherever a chord in his nature is touched. His interest in the well-being of humanity is genuine and profound. In the best sense of the word, he is a cosmopolitan. To have climbed so high without any fanfare of publicity is a stupendious achievement.

Above all and beyond all these subsidiary qualities is his unfailing courage. Crippled at an early age with an acute attack of asthma which dogs him even to-day, he does not seek peace or quiet or foreign travel but works feverishly at the cost of his health.

It was the Bombay Congress that brought out in abundance all the latent qualities in him. Conferences generally show human nature at its dullest, but against the threatening background of Socialist revolt and the ominous clouds of Gandhian retirement, Rajen Babu stood out, stern, fearless, unbending, with his sharply formed features and deep soulful eyes. His humour came to his rescue on several uncomfortable moments.

At the open session, after the polemical brilliances of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney, when the vote was taken on the award issue and an overwhelming majority supported the Congress resolution by show of hands, the Bengal and the Maharastrian Adullamites demanded a poll when the unbending President retorted: "I am convinced that the vote is overwhelming in support of the Congress resolution and I shall not take any poll."

But this mask of imperturbability soon deserted him and when the Mahatma handed over his resignation, Rajen Babu wept like a child.

The next time I saw him after the Congress was in Mr. Jinnah's house at Delhi when he had come to cut the Gordian knot of communal tangle. He threw into this task with his usual fervour

Gandhiji And Rajen Babu

To say that Rajen Babu is one of the half a dozen considerable influences of contemporary India is to put it mildly. Those who mistake the slagheaps of fleeting popularity for the peaks of Olympus would do well to take a leaf from his life, rich with suffering and sacrifice.

The secret of his success is his strong character. One sees in his towering personality a soul of eagle force, striving to rise above the vulgar appeal to mob passions. Every muscle in his wiry body shows determination. In repose, there is tragic cast about his face, a strain of oriental mysticism. Sometimes an unexpected laugh leaps out of his face, like his wit, like a faun from a thicket.

I cannot think of Rajen Babu without thinking of Gandhiji. Both feel through their skins, both are overflowing with the milk of human kindness. Both have a superb grasp of the potency of Satyagraha weapon. Both have an infinite capacity in man's suffering for its own sake. Both have glimpses into eternity like Carlyle, Lenin or Trotsky.

When the emotional fervour, the wild hysteria and the exhausting applause of the present are forgotten, and posterity judges India's leaders, Babu Rajendra Prasad's place in history like that of Gandhiji is secure.

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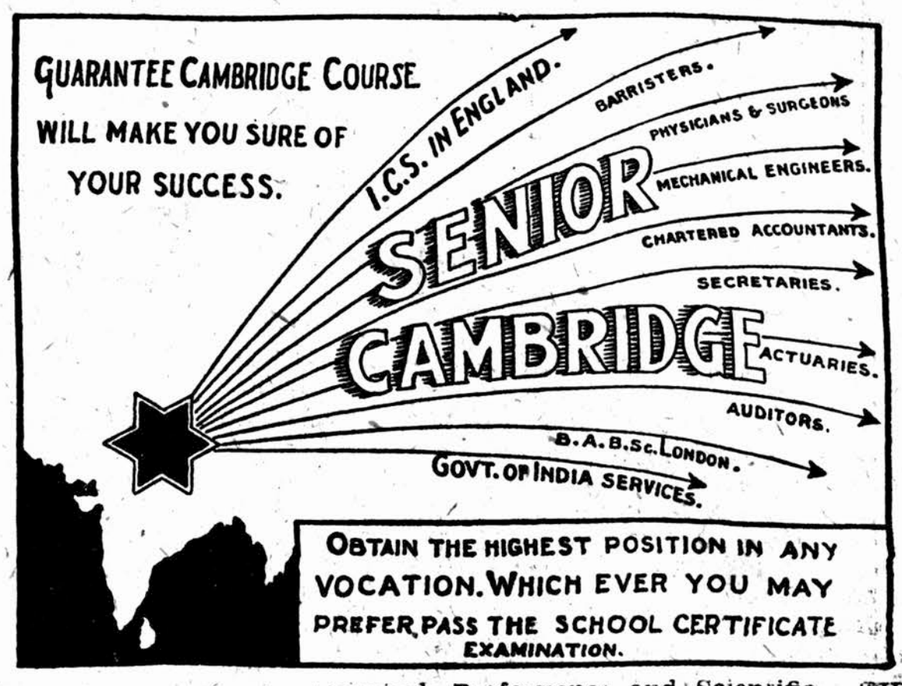

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Congress—A National Asset Of Immense Value

(Continued from page 13)

conditions for membership are such as may be fulfilled by any person who wants seriously to join it. Every working organisation must have a constitution, a test for membership and a discipline to which all its members must submit. The Congress has laid down its own test and discipline. These may or may not be good, but they too are liable to change and have been changed from time to time as Congressmen have desired. There is no rule of exclusion and in fact every one is welcomed. If, therefore, there are people who are not satisfied with its policy and programme, they, too, owe it to the country not to run down the institution but to join it and bring about a change according to their desire.

Not A Hide-bound Institution

That the Congress can and does change is proved by its own history. Starting as an institution not only having but proclaiming its faith in the British Constitution, British statesmen, British people and the British Government, it has come to cease thinking of help from Britain. Starting with passing resolutions for small reforms in administration here and there and asking for appointment of Indians in the various services, it had come to declare its object to be the attainment of Poorna Swaraj—starting with petition and protest it has come not only to accept in theory but also to give practical demonstration of non-violent direct action. Started by a few gentlemen of note who could hardly be regarded as chosen delegates of the people but who were nontheless true servants of the people and stalwart patriots, it has now got an organisation which covers every nook and corner of this vast country. Started without any constitution and without any rules for its guidance, it has now got a constitution which has been changed from time to time as exigencies and expedience have demanded. Started with a programme which demanded only a study of public questions for formulating and expressing opinion at a session extending over three or four days during the Christmas holidays, it has now an army of thousands of whole time workers in all parts of the country who are giving the best in them to the service of the nation. It has further called for sacrifice from the people at large and the response it has received has been the joy of its adherents and the envy of its opponents.

Don't Lower Its Prestige

All these are changes which have been brought about by the selfless devotion and unremitting labours of men and women during the last fifty years. And if any one feels that further changes are needed to make its organisation stronger, its ideal more attractive and its programme more absorbing, he has no reason to despair and has only to work for the change he wishes to bring about. But let no one run away with the idea that the Congress changes its plan and programme for the mere asking. It must be convinced of its necessity, utility and superior efficacy and he who wants to be heard must earn by service and sacrifice no less than by the soundness of his judgment and programme the right to be heard and heard with effect. It is, therefore, wholly unnecessary for any one to run down the institution—more, it is suicidal to do so. No one can hope to win freedom for the country, whatever his programme may be without a country wide organisation, and it is easier to destroy than to build, easier by far to capture an existing organisation by persuasion and conversion than to create a new fresh organisation after pulling down the existing one. It should therefore, be easy for any one to see how destructive of the best interests of the country it is to destroy or weaken this great institution or even to lower its great prestige. I have accordingly appealed even to those who differ from the Congress to help and strengthen it, so that if they ever come into power in it, they may get it in an unimpaired condition and capable of fulfilling the great demands that their programme may have to make upon it.

RALLY ROUND CONGRESS FLAG !

Nation Cannot Afford To Have Stragglers Forward Or Behind

(From Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar)—

The Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress has coincided with what has undoubtedly become a selfish attempt on the part of the politicians and capitalists of England to stem the tide of Freedom in India. Whatever was the original intention of the issue of the London deliberations over Indian Constitutional Reform has turned out to be a conspiracy to put off the fulfilment of Indian national aspirations to as distant a day as possible.

India will not, and cannot, afford, even if it would, to accept the terms sought to be imposed as the price for mere empty names. As the proposals are inconsistant not only with national self-respect, but with unalterable economic truth, a struggle is inevitable. How we should shape the struggle remains to be settled as the situation develops. The fact is certain that the Constitution we should have is wholly different from the shackles now proposed and miscalled Reform. Who can organize the inevitable struggle but the Great Congress? So let every one gather under the Congress Flag, and march together. We cannot afford to have stragglers forward or behind.

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Congress Must Accept Offices

Failing Direct Action, That Is Only Method Of Keeping Up Nation's Spirit Of Resistance

(By S. SATYAMURTI.)

I am deeply interested in the question of Congressmen in provincial legislatures accepting ministerial offices, under the Government of India Act ,1935, if they are in a majority and can carry out their programme. I want to remove some misapprehensions in the first instance. The desire for ministerial office under the Government of India Act is not due to any personal ambition. Thanks to the Karachi Resolution and the provisions of the Government of India Act, ministerial office for honest Congressmen is found of a very insecure tenure and of very small remunerative value. I trust therefore, no motives will be attributed to those who advocate this step. They claim to be as patriotic as, and as intelligent in their anticipation of the future, as those who criticise them. Public work will become impossible, if we do not trust one another. This attribution of motives is a game at which two can play. I, therefore, plead for a mutual understanding and charity in this matter.

IMPORTANCE OF BALLOT-BOX

The Congress has pledged itself to attain Swaraj by non-violent means. The ballot box has a very important place indeed as important as self-suffering, in the first instance, or non-payment of taxes in the ultimate resort, in a non-violent fight. Under the Government of India Act, about 35 millions of electors will be enfranchised. I can understand a revolutionary movement which can make the vast majority of them not go to the polls but I know my country. The vast majority will go to the polls. A we are to attain our ends by non-violent methods we must get them to vote in favour of fight for the freedom of the country. The practical question then is, "How can the Congress hope to get the vast majority of the millions of these electors to vote on the side of the Congress?"

I venture to suggest that we can do so only on one condition. I know conditions in my province, and have some knowledge of conditions in other provinces in India, and the only condition on which we can get the majority of votes for the Congressmen is to remove the ban on office, express or implied in the Bombay Resolution, and permit the Congress majority in provincial legislatures to accept ministerial office on definite programmes.

WHAT MINISTERS CAN DO

Congress ministers will set an example in plain living, and high thinking, will accept very moderate salaries, and while being ministers, will be humble workers in the fold of the Congress and as Babu Rajendra Prasad has said, more than once, there will be no difference between them and the sweepers of Harijan colonies and villages, and there will be no difference of status between them and an ordinary Congressman, though there will be some difference in work.

S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

Moreover, these Congress ministers, while they may not be able to achieve very much, can do something to promote the constructive programme of the Congress, viz., Khaddar, promotion of village industries, promotion of inter-communal unity, the removal of untouchability, and the promotion of the learning of Hindustani. I have read the Government of India Act to some purpose, and I think that something in these directions can be done by Congress ministers, with compact majorities behind them. They can also prevent mischief by unpatriotic ministers, and others, who are only too ready to enter these council, if they are allowed to do so by the Congress remaining out of office. The past must be a warning to us for the future.

NO ALTERNATIVE

What is the alternative? If direct action is possible, and the Congress recommends it, I, for one, would not raise this programme of mine, although my personal opinion is for Parliamentary activity and for direct action simultaneously, so that there may be a synthesis of our work inside and outside the legislatures. But, looking facts in the face, the Congress having suspended Civil Disobedience, except in the person of Mahatma Gandhi, I think there can be no other alternative. Therefore, it does seem to me that, unless this programme is accepted, the constructive programme of the Congress, however attractive, will not be enough to keep up the spirit of resistance of the nation.

Above all, we have got to remember, that this is the main objective of the Congress—the fight may never become necesary,—but so long as the goal is not won, we have got to keep up the spirit of resistance of the nation. This programme is advocated by me, in order to keep up that spirit, as a necessary preliminary to the effectivness of a programme of direct action if it ever becomes inevitable.

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Congress—Greatest Force Making For National Liberty

(Continued from page 14)

Baptista, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque, Mr. Jinnah, Vijayaraghavachariar, Rajagopalachariar, Subramania Iyer, Srinivasa Iyengar, Rangaswami Iyengar and Satyamurti. the movement was intensiled after the armistice, and came to a climax with the passing of the Rowlatt Acts, and the declaration of Martial Law in the Punjab. It was at the Amritsar Congress, on a ground that had been hallowed by the blood of martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh that the Congress under the guidance of Pt. Motilal Nehru recorded its second great victory. It was followed by the declaration of amnesty, and the introduction of the Montford Reforms.

Under Gandhiji's Leadership

The Montford Reforms, like the Minto-Morley Reforms, failed to satisfy the people. A nation that had been fed on hopes of democracy, Dominion Status and liberty; which had sent the flower of its manhood to protect the freedom of other nations, which had gladly suffered untold misery so that others should breathe the air of democracy and civilisation, refused to be satisfied by a false imitation of self-government. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Organised, one of the most historic non-violent movements of direct action, which occupied the political arena for well over a decade, with periodic suspension, for temporary political reasons. The history of this last episode in the achievements of the Congress during the last fifty years, has still to be written. I have no doubt that when it finally comes to be written, it will occupy a golden chapter, in the history, not only of India but of mankind. The new constitution, reactionary and halting as it is, may be a sad ending to this chapter. That it is totally disappointing, would be futile to hide. We must, however, measure the success, of the last decade of struggle not from the transient clauses of a reactionary constitution, but by the spirit of nationalism that has been released in every nook and corner of the country; by the capacity of thousands of men and women to make sacrifices for the common ideal of liberty; above all by the splendid awakening among the masses, an awakening which has brought a rare sense of self-respect and dignity, among the lowest of them, in its wake. It is the crowning glory of the fifty years of incessant labour of the Congress, that today India is not only demanding independence to a man, but is also fit for that happy fulfilment of its national aspiration.

Congress Stands For Nation As A Whole

It may surprise the critics of the Congress, but it is a fact, that the Congress, in its desire, to weld the people into a nation, has not ignored the legitimate claims of the communities that constitute it. It has been the one organisation, that has really been above petty communalism. And yet, it has been the only organisation, which has on several occasions helped the several communities to protect their sectional interest, whenever they were seriously in jeopardy. Can any Indian Musalman forget the services that were rendered to Islam, by the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi, during the days of the Khilafat agitation? The whole nation, to a man stood up, in aid of Islam, in response to the appeal of the Congress and the Mahatma. When the Sikhs started the Guru-Ka-Bagh and the Gurdwara agitation, the Congress came to their help, and Congressmen made ungrudging sacrifices on their behalf. To-day the Congress had made the cause of the Harijans its own, and is employing all its resources to make the Harijan a fit citizen and a self-respecting member of the Hindu Community. It has saved the Hindu community from the most dangerous form of disintegration. I have pointed out these salient illustrations, not because they are the only ones worth recording, but because they show, how every community, as distinct from the nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Congress, which it will be impossible for it to repay. But, the Congress has never solicited gratitude. It has felt it a matter of pride to serve, since in service of the Indian people alone can it fulfil its great ideal, namely, of helping the nation as a whole to achieve its freedom.

Greatest Force Making For Liberty

It is not surprising therefore, that the Congress should have furnished, to the flower of India's patriots, the only common platform to rise to the full stature of their greatness. Without distinction of sex, caste, creed or race, it has offered to the wise, the noble and the courageous, opportunities of giving their best to the nation. Through the Congress, the noblest of India's sons, even of Britain's sons, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, have made a common contribution, to Indian nationalism. It has been a galaxy of stars that has shone on the Congress firmament during the last half century. The Congress owes its birth to the efforts of two eminent Englishmen, David Hume and William Wedderburn. They were far seeing statesmen, who gave proper direction to the wave of nationalism which was surging in the land, soon after the lull that followed the Mutiny. It is to their redounding credit that the Congress during the last fifty years, has been the greatest force impelling the nation to march forward towards the goal of liberty, and has been the most powerful check, keeping the forces of opposition, within the narrow path of ordered progress. If India owes the slogan "Swaraj is for India" to the genius of that great Parsi, Dadabhoy Naoroji, it owes to a great English lady, who suffered and sacrificed her all for her adopted home, Mrs. Annie Besant, the clarion call of Home Rule. W. C. Bonnerjee, one of the early founders, was a Christian. Pherozeshah Mehta again was a great Parsi who served his country through the Congress. Mrs. Besant was by no means the only woman to adorn the Presidential chair of the Congress. Mrs. Naidu, the best among the flower of Indian womanhood, was another to secure that honour.

Musalman And Sikh Co-operation

Among Musalmans, the greatest sons of Islam have contributed their best through the Congress for the uplift of the country. Among the early pioneers may be mentioned Badruddin Tyebji and Nawab Syed Muhammad. Masihul Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, than whom a nobler Indian would be difficult to find, and Maulana Mohommad Ali, one of the most brilliant sons of Islam and India, gave their best through the Congress, and presided over the deliberations of this great body. Among others who were associated with the work of this great organisation, duding the last fifty years, I cannot help mentioning Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abdul Qadir, Mazharul Haque, M. A. Jinnah, Hasan Imam, and, in our own day, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, T. A. K. Sherwtni, Dr. Alam, Asaf Ali, Syed Abdullah Brelvi, Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulanas Ahmed Saeed, Habibur Rahman and Ataullah Bukhari and the two illustrious brothers, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Saheb. The Sikh community has also contributed its share in shaping the deliberations of this national parliament and the struggle for freedom. Sardar Sardul Singh has been for years a member of the Working Committee, while men like Sardar Mangal Singh, Sardar Kharak Singh, Sardar Tara Singh, and many others have contributed their best, in the services of the motherland. The services of the Parsi community to the country through the Congress have been no less valuable. Mr. K. F. Nariman, a member of the Working Committee has been the leader of the Congress in Bombay for several years.

I have mentioned these names, not because they exhaust the list of those brave and noble patriots who have adorned the Congress platform, but because this shows how the Congress had during the last 50 years, offered to the best patriots of India of all communities and schools of political thought, a common platform for serving their Motherland, and for giving their best to the nation.

A Glorious Record Of National Service

In celebrating its fiftieth birthday, every Congressman can look back with pride on its glorious record of national service. We may not have achieved all that we aspired for. We may have been delayed in reaching our goal. Our progress my have been slow, and path full of pitfalls. But, we can say with pride, that the Congress, has never faltered, that it has brooked no compromise with its ideals, that it has steadfastly pursued its goal, and has never failed in its leadership of the country. With requisite support and confidence of the people, it hopes to lead the national barge to its destined haven of independence and freedom before long.

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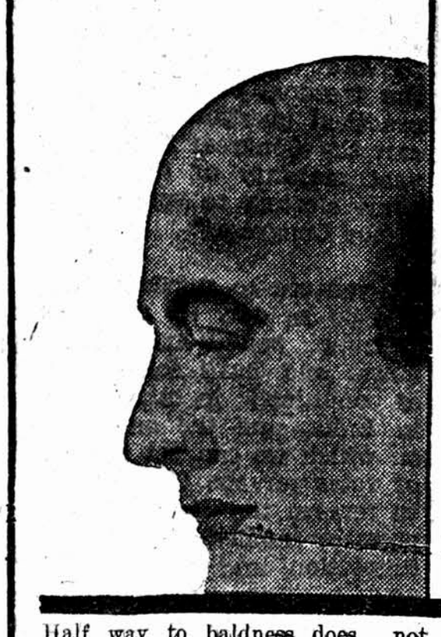

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"W. C. BONNERJEE"

The First Congress President As I Knew Him

(By Mr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA).

In October last year I presented to the readers of this journal a critical but (I hope) sympathetic sketch of the life and career of Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, which judging from its numerous reprints and translations—was evidently appreciated by newspaper readers. The chief merit of my sketch was that it was based on an intimate personal knowledge of the personality of the Congress President. I propose to present now a sketch of the career of the first President of the National Congress—Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee—whom it was my privilege to have known from 1889, (when I was a college student, in Calcutta) and more intimately from 1893, on my return from England after my call to the Bar, till his death in 1906. It seems singularly appropriate to do so on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the National Congress, over the first session of which he presided, on the 28th of December, 1885, in the city of Bombay.

A GREAT NAME

Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee—popularly known throughout the country as "W. C. Bonnerjee"—is a great name in the political annals of modern India, as that of a distinguished advocate, an erudite lawyer, a sagacious statesman, a renowned public leader, and the first President of the Indian National Congress. Bonnerjee was one of the most successful barristers of his time, and few Indians have attained to that eminence in the legal profession, which fell to his lot. For over a third of a century he was justly regarded as one of the acknowledged leaders of the Calcutta Bar. His services were equally eagerly sought on the appellate and on the original sides of the High Court, and he derived so large an income that he refused, on more occasions than one, a seat on the Bench. Since the establishment of the Indian National Congress he supported that movement with his whole heart, and with his great resources. He was chiefly instrumental in the foundation of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and in the establishment of its London organ, the journal named "India," which was for some years edited by Mr. Gordon Hewart, now (as Lord Hewart) the Lord Chief Justice of England! His career can be justly recalled as a most prominent example of that success which could be attained by an educated Indian in the Victoriann Era. And as he owed his great distinction and notable success entirely to himself, the incidents of his life, which I learnt on many an occasion from his own lips, are highly interesting, and are worth recording for the behoof of the Indians of to-day.

THE TURNING TIDE.

Born in a poor but respectable Brahmin family of Calcutta, on the 29th of December, 1844, Bonnerjee evinced in early life but little promise of his later phenomenal success. Being but an indifferent student—though clever and amiable—he made but little progress in his studies. He early imbibed love for music and theatricals, and used to perform in the latter—often taking female parts! Thus his career as a student being anything but satisfactory, his father not unnaturally thought it expedient to withdraw him from school—while he was in the matriculation standard—and put him to some other work; and so he was made to join a solicitor's firm, as an articled clerk, in 1862, at the early age of eighteen. After serving for a time in that capacity he was lucky, in 1864, in securing one of the six scholarships offered to Indian students by a wealthy citizen of Bombay—Mr. Rustomji Jeejeebhoy—for the study of law, in England, and he left home with a view to qualify himself for English Bar. His departure for England was that turning tide in his career "which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of life is bound in shallows and in miseries. By this time his character had evidently sobered, and he now laid himself out, in London, for regular hard work. He had the inestimable advantage of assistance, in his legal studies, of eminent tutors, and he not only studied law, but learnt also drafting under famous conveyancers, with the result that he was justly regarded as an adept in that branch of the legal work, as well. Amongst his friends, in London, were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Budruddin Tyabji—all great and distinguished names in the history of the National Congress as its Presidents. He mixed also in politics taking an active part in the establishment of the London Indian Society, and also reading, in 1867, a carefully-written paper on "Representative and Responsible Government in India," before the still-existing East India Association, which had just then been started. In the course of it he urged (now nearly seventy years back) that "there ought to be a 'representative' assembly and a senate sitting in India"—an ideal not attained even now under the Government of India Act of 1935! He returned to India after his call to the Bar, and started practice in the Calcutta High Court, in November, 1868. He felt as a struggling junior that his only chance for achieving success in his profession, was by means of undivided attention to his work as a lawyer, and so he devoted himself absolutely to it for the first ten years of his career.

HIS FIRST BRIEF.

Bonnerjee's first brief was in a criminal case in the mofussil. It was one of historic importance, as it was a very sensational trial in which Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macdonnel—later, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, but then only a sub-divisional officer—had charged a fisher-woman with having brought a false case against him. Bonnerjee appearing for the accused secured her acquittal from the court of a British officer, which was a very notable triumph for him. But he soon turned his attention from mofussil practice in criminal courts to civil work in the High Court. He was retained a junior in many cases on the original side of the High Court, and soon made his mark as a clever cross-examiner and a skilful reasoner. His practice began to rise, and he soon acquired a prominent position and gained the confidence of the Bench, the Bar, and a large circle of clients. He had a hard and up-hill task before him, but his perseverance overcame all obstacles. He had no influential friends to take him by the hand, and he owed his immense success to his own energies, talents and industry. At the end of ten years his career was justly regarded as one of phenomenal success. He was the first Indian to attain that distinguished and prominent position. As an advocate, Bonnerjee used to go straight to the point, whether in argument or in cross-examination, and his addresses were lucid and straight-forward, and never prolix, irrelevant or long-winded. That tact in managing judges and witnesses which is among the first requisites of a great advocate—he possessed in a very remarkable degree. And so within a dozen years of his joining the Bar, he had attained the highest success in the avocation he had chosen, and had reached the highest rung on the professional ladder. He was the first Indian to be appointed the Standing Counsel to the Government of India—which was the highest honour an Indian lawyer could aspire to, at that time, apart from a seat on the Bench of the High Court. The latter also was offered to him more than once, but he could not see his way to accept it in view of his extensive professional and public activities.

FIRST PRESIDENT

Bonnerjee emerged into political life in 1883, by taking the chair at a great demonstration, held at the Calcutta Town Hall, to approve of Lord Ripon's policy in having been able to save at least the principle of the then famous but now almost forgotten "Ilbert Bill"—in the face of the most influential British agitation that had ever been organized in India. Later, at the first sitting of the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay, in the closing week of 1885, he was deservedly elected its President. He was then forty-one. His presidential address—so simple and straightforward—shows the great advance the country has made during the last half a century, if contrasted with the public utterances of present-day Nationalist leaders—which may be summed up in the words "from demand for reforms to that of substance of independence." He presided over the Congress again in 1892, at its seventh session held at Allahabad. He was in the habit of spending at least one-third of every year in England, and during these visits he organised meetings and demonstrations there on Indian questions. He was chiefly instrumental in converting to Congress views the late Mr. George Yule—

(Continued on page 22)

Solutions Of Last Week's Puzzles

Hallowe'en Cryptogram: The words are as follows: 1. Mercury. 2. Austin. 3. Paper. 4. Remit. 5. Ottawa. 6. Minor. 7. Hospital. 8. Nashville. 9. Gondola. 10. Blubber. 11. Madison. 12. Plumb. 13. Montgomery. 14. Fauna. 15. Wigwam. 16. Wednesday. 17. Sewer 18. Toll. 19. Clergy. 20. Hostage. 21. Hedge. 22. Dane 23. Baa. 24. Pen. 25. Reed. 26. Tea

The cryptogram reads as follows: Come to my Hallowe'en party at the red barn on the side road. We'll bob for apples and have supper later. Bring a costume and we'll see you.

Scrambled Cards: The tradesmen were: a butcher (steak), a cobbler (shoe), a carpenter (board), a florist (violet a fruiterer (peach), and a mason (stone).

Price Tag: The dealer's name is CORNELIUS. The cost price of the vase was 7.84 dols. and the dealer's profit was 1.52 dols.

Toothpick Trick: Seven toothpicks are removed so that the remaining 13 form the letters that spell the word HOLE.

Hallow'en Dream: The names of the objects containing the letter B are: Bat. Beam. Bench, Boy, Broom.

Apple Puzzle: A tracing of the solution will be mailed upon receipt of request accompanied by an addressed, stamped envelope, and a clipping of the puzzle.

S	T	E	T		O	D	E	R			B	E	E	R
P	A	R	A		D	U	P	E			S	O	L	V	E
A	P	I	S	H		B	I	G		O	W	L	E	T
R	E	A	M	E	R		C	A	R	O	L	I	N	E
			A	R	I	D		L	A	N	E	S		
		P	A	N	D	O	R	A		T	I	E	D		G	O
P	A	R	I	S		E	S	T	E	R		C	A	N
A	N	N	A		L	A	T	E	R		M	A	L	E
L	E	O		B	A	D	E	N		M	A	T	E	S
I	S		P	A	N		R	O	B	E	S	O	N	
		B	A	N	G	S		R	U	T	S			
S	O	R	D	E	L	L	O		S	E	E	M	E	D
A	V	I	D		E	E	L	S		S	N	A	R	E
W	A	N	E		Y	E	L	P	S		E	R	I	N
S	L	E	D			P	A	Y	S		T	E	S	T

Last Week's Cross-Word Puzzle

"W. C. Bonnerjee"

(Continued from page 21)

who presided over the fourth session of Congress held at Allahabad, in 1888—and also the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, who attended the fifth Congress session held at Bombay, in 1889, and sponsored an Indian Reforms Bill. Bonnerjee worked vigorously for the propagation of Congress ideas among influential Britons. He had bought an estate and built a fine house at Croydon—now the terminal aerodrome station—in the suburbs of London, which he had named after his birthplace "Kidderpore House." He was until his death the right-hand man of Mr. Hume in the propagandist work of the Congress, and had made towards its advancement princely contributions. On the enactment of Lord Cross's Reform Bill, in 1892, he was induced to offer himself as a candidate for a seat in the legislature, placed at the disposal of the Senate of the Calcutta University, and he won the election against a candidate strongly-backed by officialdom.

MUSIC, HIS FIRST LOVE.

In Calcutta Bonnerjee lived at No. 6 Park Street, in the best residential quarter, in a palatial house situate in large, beautiful grounds. His fine presence—thin but tall, with a highly intellectual cast and flowing beard—lent dignity alike to the court, the public forum, and social gatherings. Socially he lived every inch the life of an Englishman, from the wave of his hand to the lighting of his cigar. But though he had discarded Indian clothes and affected European costume, ways and manners, he was nevertheless one of the most sociable of men in his relations with his fellow-countrymen, and his unbounded charities made him the support of many a poor and helpless person. Even in his old age Bonnerjee revelled in music, which was his first love. He never renounced Hinduism—as was wrongly stated by Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference—and was proud of his being a Brahmin, and the monument (over his ashes, in his Croydon House) described him, as he had himself desired, as a "Hindoo Brahmin." During the last four years of his life he had successfully practised in the Privy Council. He passed away in his English home in July 1906, and his body was duly cremated in the presence of a large number of Indians, and his many British friends. His house was one of the best furnished in Calcutta. His crockery and cutlery were especially made for him in England, and bore his monogram in gold; while his napery was manufactured for him at Belfast, in Ireland. He kept an open table, which literally groaned under the choicest and the most luxurious viands. Every Saturday he used to invite to dinner a number of rising juniors, like the future Lord Sinha, Mr. Bymkesh Chakarvarti and others, to mix with seniors of his own standing, like Mr. K. M. Chatterjee and Mr. R. Mitter. But in spite of his seeming anglicisation, he possessed a true Indian heart.

POWERFUL SPEAKER.

Bonnerjee spoke most perfect English, not only in idiom and form, but also in pronounciation. Though he excelled in forensic eloquence, he was also a powerful platform speaker. I recall even now, forty-seven years after having heard it, his magnificent peroration—with which he closed his speech in moving a resolution at the fourth session of the Congress held at Allahabad, in 1888 in a voice at once deep, sonorous and well-modulated:—"The reforms, however, for which we have pressed in this resolution" said he, "are not by any means the only reforms which are essential for the welfare of India. They are, perhaps, the simplest, and in regard to them the country is now most completely of one mind as to the exact steps that it is necessary for the Government to take. But there are other great and vital reforms which must, sooner or later, have to be dealt with, if India is to be justly administered. But at the present moment what we first want is that those simple and clear reforms, which are now fully ready for practical embodiment, should be carried out. Now, brother delegates, do not be cast down, do not be disheartened, if immediately you put forward a request it is not granted by those who are responsible for the Government of the country. Be patient, be persistent, be true to your cause and to yourselves. Remember that even now there are many reforms about which large majorities are agreed in England, but which the English people have not yet got. If you are true to yourselves, if you are persistent, and if you go on agitating, agitating, and agitating, you will be sure to get what you are asking for. Bide your time, and then give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and you will unfailingly land yourselves triumphant on the shores of victory." Reading this splendid peroration, in cold print, even to-day, after a lapse of nearly half a century, one endowed with some imagination can well visualize the enthusiasm, and the storm of applause, it evoked in the Congress, and brought down the House, such as I have seldom seen.

GOKHALE'S TRIBUTE.

Amongst the many tributes paid to Bonnerjee, but three need be recalled. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Sinha speaking as the Advocate-General, before a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court, said that Bonnerjee's "career at the Bar was one of exceptional brilliance," and that "he was a sound lawyer, a perfect draughtsman and a brilliant cross-examiner." He added significantly that "in every phase of life Mr. Bonnerjee had displayed equal prominence." Sir Lawrence Jenkins the famous Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court said of him:—"Mr. Bonnerjee was powerful yet a graceful advocate, an enlightened leader of political thought, a man true and upright, overzealous for the progress of India, and possessed of an ardent and abiding love for his country and countrymen."

Mr. Gokhale, who was then in London, pronounced a glowing panegyric at the crematorium, from which I may suitably quote the following passage:—Mr. Bonnerjee was an ardent patriot, a wise and farsighted leader, an incessant worker, a man whose nobility of mind and greatness of soul were stamped on every utterance of his life. His intellectual gifts were of the very highest order. Endowed with an intellect at once critical, vigorous, and comprehensive, a truly marvellous memory, luminous powers of exposition, captivating eloquence, great industry and a wonderful habit of method and discipline he was bound to achieve, in whatever field he chose to work, brilliant success. He had a wide outlook on life, deep and earnest feelings, and a passionate desire to devote his great gifts to the service of his country. And added to these were that combination of strength and restraint which made him one of the most manly men that one could come across. Such a man must tower above his fellowmen wherever he was placed. In a self-governing country he would, without doubt, have attained the position of a Prime Minister. Till the moment of his death, Mr. Bonnerjee (with two or three others) was the very life and soul of the Congress movement. Hs ungrudgingly gave to its cause his time and his resources, and this far more than is generally known. He cheerfully bore all its anxieties, his exertions for its success were unwearied, and no man's counsel was valued higher by his countrymen, where the Congress was concerned. His courage was splendid, and it rose with difficulties, and his nerve and his clear judgment were a theme of constant admiration among his countrymen. With Mr. Bonnerjee at the helm, every one felt safe. His was the eloquence that thrills and steers and inspires, but his was also the practical sagacity that sees the difference between what may be attained and what cannot; and when the need arose no man was firmer that Mr. Bonnerjee in exercising a sobering and restraining influence."

It is impossible to improve upon this well-deserved eulogy on Bonnerjee by Mr. Gokhale. But having had the privilege of knowing him intimately for the last fifteen years of his life, I can add my humble testimony—assuming it were necessary—in support of Mr. Gokhale's very just estimate of the character and attainments of the first President of the Indian National Congress, as an advocate, lawyer, patriot, philanthropist and leader. It is easy to belittle now the services of those like Bonnerjee who ungrudgingly toiled and generously gave freely in the early years of the growth of national consciousness in the country, and to exalt above them our own contemporaries whose personalities naturally loom large on our mental horizon. But to obtain a correct perspective of Indian nationalism, it is essential to keep in view the great deeds done by the departed stalwarts of the national movement, in its early days. Any of the men who unselfishly served the country at that time, perhaps the memory of none other is more deserving of being cherished in love and respect by us than that of Bonnerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress. Of him it can be said with great truth than of any other Indian who lived during the last half a century what Antony said of Brutus:—

His Life was gentle; and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world:
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The Venerable Indian Congress And A Future Dream

What A True United Front Should Be

(By Shapurji Saklatvala)

The Indian National Congress attains its Golden Jubilee after fifty years of existence and takes its place among the venerable institutions created by human efforts for a great national purpose. People are apt to criticise political institutions and political plans for their imperfections and, on the other hand, the adherents of many political institutions and political programmes are apt to go into opposite directions and to claim 100 per cent perfection. They are both mistaken. Political science has a parallel with any biological problem. Animal life and vegetable growth are subject to laws of compact between two units and then to laws of conception, birth, growth with various defects and illnesses. The working of political and economic sciences is also subject to similar process. Clash of events and very often compact between two opposing interests make the beginning of a conception from which are born ideas, institutions, programmes and policies which carry with them the defects as well as points of strength which are inherent in various stages of development and growth.

BIRTH OF THE CONGRESS.

The Company's Raj in India had attained its height and the members of the East India Company in India were thoughtlessly going headlong to making the most of their opportunities. Their methods of expoitation, their personal self-indulgence and luxurious modes of life, and the great wealth with which they retired and returned home to England were preparing for the catastrophe of 1857. It was at the same period between 1830 to 1860 that the ideals of democratic control in public affairs were developing in Great Britain. The revolt of India in 1857 was of a mixed character as it included in itself the struggle of ruling princes and princesses with the struggle of the victims of the newly created poverty. A new era was created from 1858 in India. It claimed to be an era of rigorous repression for the unruly people and one of good promise and hopeful reward for the good children of British Raj under the Crown. Out of the clash of events arising in such an atmosphere the idea of the Indian National Congress was conceived. It was born of anxiety of two opposing forces. The Indian people waiting freedom from foreign bondage, and foreign ruler wanting to placate Indian leaders, inducing them to live in hopes of a great future as British citizens. The early history of our Congress had, therefore, within it the germ of a popular and almost revolutionary demand as well as that of a governmental desire to see the same Congress operating as an institution of British citizens aspiring for essentially British principles of democratic reforms. When the Congress was born in 1885 we had in its forefront Indian patriots of the type of Dadabhoy Nowroji, Sir Pherojshah Mehta, Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, Surendranath Bannerjee, Badruddin Tyabji and several others. At the same time in the background was the shadow of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy and Allen Octavius Hume, of the India Civil Service. It is futile to criticise the politics of our leaders in and after 1885 born of events of that period and with the background of the development at that stage in the light of present day events and with the world politics standing as they are now.

WHAT TILAK DID.

It is equally wrong and injurious to go back to any earlier period as the traditional foundations of the Congress policy for what requires to be done in the world of 1936 and thereafter. The Congress of 1885 to 1905 was not what the leaders made it, but what the historical events and the stage of development of mass psychology made it. Bal Gangadhar Tilak gave the Congress in its period of adolescence a new aspect that had become possible and had become imperative by the train of events. Those who saw in Lokmanya Tilak a rash mischief maker and those who persisted in preserving the reformism of the closing years of the last century were fighting against historical truths and were wasting the time and energy of the Congress. As the governmental atmosphere was passing away from the Congress and as their persuasive influence was decaying, their attitude of hostility was slowly but certainly developing. Marquis of Dufferin, the founder and father of the Congress, was the Viceroy of placation and twenty years later it had to be the Viceroy of repression and hostility in the person of Lord Curzon. The Indian leaders did not accept the position as they ought to have done as a change over from the period of reconciliation to a period of conflict for winning people's rights from the hands of an unwilling Government. A kind of fright spread over the mentality of leaders. A retreat to former stage of co-operation with Government was arranged under the leadership of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

FALSE HOPES.

Thus a historical period that could well have been developed as a struggle between the united front of the people and the Government unwilling to see its administrative powers passed into the hands of the people was unnecessarily converted into a period

"He'll be a great loss to the brewery.
"He didn't work there."
"I didn't say he did."

of a tug of war within the Congress itself. Several years passed by in balancing the powers between two groups and created the wasteful period of the leadership of Annie Besant. Then appeared Mr. Gandhi on the scene. He deliberately made a public pronouncement that he was giving up his life in South Africa and going to India to keep up the work, the tradition and the policy of his revered chief Gokhale. This meant an unnatural attempt to resist the present, to fall back on the past and to prevent adequate measures being devised to meet the ever-changing situation of the future. Then came the period of war, followed by the Russian Revolution which meant a period of wiping out of much of the political history of the past. The Congress lived in false hopes of reviving the past, namely, of obtaining favours from the British Government with new slogans, based on the so-called services of India to Britain during the war. This again was an attempt at good tactics but against the law of political science

GANDHIJI'S FONDNESS FOR PAST.

Force of events made Mr. Gandhi realise the atmosphere that had come into existence all over the world and especially in the oriental world including Turkey, Egypt, Persia, the old Asiatic regions of Czarist Russia, China and, last but not the least, India. Mr. Gandhi's leadership tried to submit to the inevitable force of this period that demanded national autonomy. But Mr. Gandhi's own mentality is always inducing him to fall back on the past in politics, in economics and in social developments. He saw the inevitable forces that compelled him to tow the line with the forces that demanded action for national independence and yet he always tried to regularise and to control these new forces in the channels and in the form of the past history of the Congress. The weakness of Mr. Gandhi's efforts lay in trying to combine a new feature with an old and played out past. C. R. Das saw this weakness and volunteered to set it aside. Das's leadership unfortunately remained short-lived and Mr. Gandhi's second leadership recognised the tactics of mass action. Still, Mr. Gandhi's self-consciousness always drew him to the past and he tried to control all these new forces so as to operate them only on a

(Continued on page 24)

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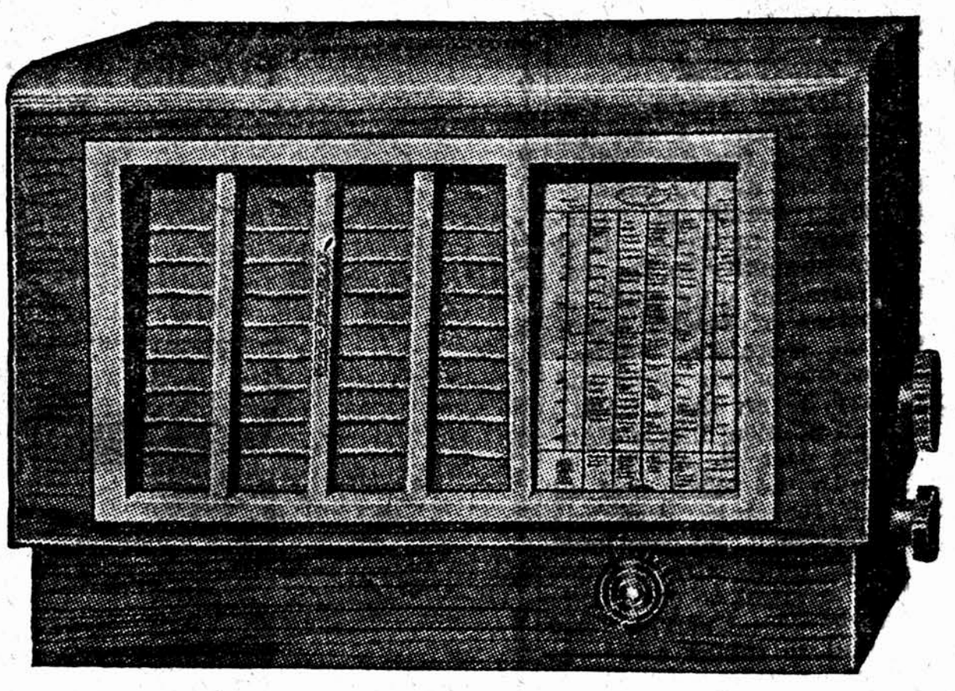

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The Venerable Indian Congress And A Future Dream

(Continued from page 23)

small scale in limited areas under his personal guidance.

Mr. Gandhi's other deplorable weakness has been his failure to realise the supremacy of mass economics over the economics of the old world which recognised the rights and privileges of a class of princes, of merchants, of landlords and of industrial magnates. Thus the Congress under the second leadership of Mr. Gandhi made a picture of great national forces with which were gathering all the weaknesses of a man fond of the past and frightened of the new future. Such a condition cannot last long. Every day, in spite of the outward appearance of success and leadership, the internal weakness was growing and made the collapse of the Congress machinery inevitable just as a heavy stone tower was bound to collapse if there were several weak points and big holes throughout its structure. Thus it has come to pass that our great Congress, a great national institution, fifty years of age, fifty years of experience, is celebrating its Golden Jubilee not at the height of power but rather at a deep depression of its power. The All-India Congress Committee is sitting helpless, impotent and inoperative to express an opinion on the mighty issues of the future under pretence of a democratic appearance of letting the Lucknow Congress of 1936 to settle its own fate and with all the probability of being divided among itself. Like the Labour Parties of Great Britain and of other countries of Europe and America, the Congress leadership is trying the impossible mixture of democracy and dictatorship. Those who still hanker after "the good old days of a past" that is dead and gone are still scolding the young and the forward spirit for daring even to think anything that is new and untried. There is a talk in the air of expulsions, of disaffiliations, of resignations and of divisions of all kinds. There is a talk in the air of going back to the period of 1885 to work harmoniously with the Viceroy of 1935 after the terrible India Bill having come into existence. These things seem to be unfortunate and yet inevitable.

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TRUE UNITED FRONT.

The wish of my humble heart goes forward that the great Jubilee celebrations may bring to us a refreshing Jubilee sleep making us forget all the past bickerings, all misjudged hero-worships, and all wrong tactics opposed to inexorable laws of political science and of economic development. Let the 51st year of the Congress be above all one of self-sacrificing unity. This word "Unity" or "United Front" is also grossly abused in many quarters and it is used by the apostles of the older school as an instrument of blackmail to demand a surrender of new thoughts and new policies from people with a youthful mentality capable of visualising the new future. What is wanted of a healthy United Front in the Indian National Congress is the spirit of complete tolerance by the old generation towards all new thoughts and towards every suggestion of progressive experiments. What is wanted of the younger mentality is a spirit of fair-play, respect and courtesy towards people with a mentality of the past generation, as something that they could not help. A complete mixture of the past and the future is impossible and inadvisable and any United Front work based on such an attempt must only end in further disagreements All Wings of Public workers, Right-wing. Congressmen, Left-wing Congressmen, Complete Independencemen, Partial Independence Reformists, Socialists, Communists, Trade Union workers and Leaders of Peasants Parties, must first unite together for the sake of unity. The scientific healthy basis of such a unity must be national service and national emancipation. Each organised group can develop its own structure and its own programme as far as human intelligence and honesty can permit them to develop. Yet each one of these groups can put into the common stock of the Congress its particular share and contribution that would further the large national object. For example, the question of going into the Councils or keeping out of them or accepting Ministerial positions or of rejecting them, can never become a matter of unanimity. But the question of what those who go into the Councils or those who accept Ministerial posts should do for national liberation and how is a matter for study and decision by a united front Congress. The problems of economic justice to land workers and to industrial workers cannot obtain a complete unanimity on the basis of demanding a Soviet system immediately and forthwith, but a unanimity can certainly be obtained in accepting the fact of many disgraceful conditions of life, kept up for tens of millions of Indians by other Indians themselves and thus facilitating the operation of foreign domination. A unanimity therefore, can be obtained on certain immediate problems about removing this evil of the suffering masses and this disgrace of the higher order of Indian society.

THE FIRST STEP.

After the Golden Jubilee the Congress must learn that its failure is due not for demanding too much but for always hankering after past traditions, past events and past methods that cannot serve humanity in the future but which can only lead to the introduction of fascist terrorism. Let us, therefore, determine that whatever our views and opinions may be on the social, economic and political life and activities of the past, we are to be concerned with the future and all political and economic organisations broad-based on national service should unite with the determination to grant to each one utmost liberty of thought, and tolerance and to expect and to receive from each one its particular contribution that can help in the process of liberation and of solving difficulties of human life and national life from day to day. The first step in the abandonment of Indian habit of hero worship and personal "pooja" and the acceptance of leadership based on knowledge and on correct laws of political and economic science.

Good luck to India, Long Life to a United National Congress of the people and cheerful confidence for the liberation of our Motherland.

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Their destination is Admiral Byrd's former base, Little America. which is 2.140 miles across the Antarctic wastes.

Shortly before their take-off they wirelessed New York to say that conditions for their hazardous journey were favourable.

This is their third attempt to accomplish the flight.

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Admiral Byrd's discoveries led scientists to believe that this vast frozen continent was once somewhere else on the globe.

It had probably drifted south from Australia.

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C. NARAYANSWAMY NAIDU,
Head Clerk, P.W.D.,
KHANDWA.

SETH M. MULCHAND DEAD

Well-known Jain Leader Of Ahmedabad

AHMEDABAD, Dec. 28.

Sheth Manilal Mulchand, well-known millowner and Jain leader of Ahmedabad, died on 27th night at 10-30 of heart failure at the age of 59. His death has caused grief among the Jain population of the city. The deceased was managing agent of Marsden and Monogram mills here. With the sad demise of Sheth Manilal, the Jain community of Ahmedabad in particular and public in general have lost a generous leader and a sympathetic philanthropist.

Sir E. Drummond Takes Leave

ROME, Dec. 27.

Sir Eric Drummond, the British Ambassador in Rome, is leaving for London to-morrow for a three weeks' holiday.—Indian Allied News.

CHANGE IN DUTY ON U. K. STEEL

Alternative Given Between Ad Valorem And Specific

NEW DELHI, Dec. 27.

A Customs Notification is published enabling certain steel imports from U.K. to pay either a 10 per cent 'ad valorem' duty or a specific duty charged on the same goods from other countries, if the latter works out less than the 'ad valorem' duty. This change is necessitated by the recent price movements which have made the 10 per cent duty higher than the specific duty.

Articles affected are:

Cast iron fitting for cast iron pipes and Tubes; that is to say, bends, boots, elbow tees, sockets, flanges, plugs, valves, cocks and the like.—A.P.

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MOVE TO HOLD KISAN CONGRESS

Prof. Ranga's Organisational Tour In North India

(From Our Correspondent).

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 27.

Prof. Ranga, M.L.A., who is organising Kisans in different provinces, paid a visit to Allahabad recently. Prof. Ranga has hitherto visited Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Assam and some other places trying to organise peasants.

It is understood, a Conference of representatives of Kisans from different provinces will be held on January 15 at Meerut to discuss the question of Kisans organisations and holding an All-India Kisans' Congress.

Prof. Ranga is likely to attend the Meerut Conference.

Posts And Telegraphs Report

NEW DELHI, Dec. 27.

It is understood that the publication of the annual report of the Posts and Telegraphs Department is being expedited.

The report 1934-35 is expected in the middle of January while last year it was published at the end of February.—United Press.

NEUTRALITY MERE TALK

U. S. Exports Of Oil To Italy & Italian Africa Increase

WASHINGTON: Dec. 28.

The Department of Commerce has published certain figures, which show striking increases in the exports of oil to Italy from the United States.

The figures reveal that since the outbreak of the Italo-Abyssinian war the exports of oil to Italy and Italian Africa have risen sharply in each successive month despite the neutrality regulations.

According to the figures, the exports of petrol to Italian Africa in November were 110,109 barrels whereas in October they were only 25,714 barrels. Similarly the exports of lubricating oil in November were 1,117 barrels whereas in October they were only 63 barrels.

Experts express the opinion that Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, will make use of these figures as an argument for stricter control of the petroleum industry when the Congress meets in January.—Indian Allied News.

Great Uproar At Mahaluxmi

Public Demonstrate Against Judge's Verdict In First Race

BOMBAY, Saturday.

There was a great sensation after the result had been declared in the First Race (The Punjab Plate). The Judge placed Honey Boy first, whereas Daftrum had really won the Race.

A large number of people gathered round the Judge's Box and shouted to change the verdict. Public from the First Enclosure protested against the decision remarking that many had thought Daftrum had won.

But the Judge stuck to his guns and would not revise his previous decision and declared Daftrum as the actual winner.

THE PUNJAB PLATE

Distance—6 furlongs.

Winner, Rs. 2000; Second Rs. 700; Third Rs. 300. A Handicap for Indian Horses which have not won a race value Rs. 2000 or over.

Mr. R.H. Tucker's HONEY BOY 9-3, Munro 1

Mr. K.S. Malkani's DAFTRUM 9-0, Davison 2

Mrs. M. Clarke's SAVOY 8-3, Forsyth 3

Mr. R.H. Tucker's Champagne 7-0, Graham 4

Won by short head, neck and 6 lengths.

Time 1min. 17-1|5secs.

First Tote paid Rs. 28 for win; Rs. 19, Rs. 18 for places.

All ran.

Favourite Savoy 8-3.

Winner trained by M. Ryan.

THE MOSUL PLATE

Distance—7 furlongs.

Winner, Rs. 1,500; Second Rs. 500; Third Rs. 250.

H.H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur's SHAR'A AL NA-AMAN 8-10, Whittle 1

Mr. Hamid Jamoor's JEWAN 8-1 (card. 8-2), Hardinge 2

Mr. Rashid Fadhoos' MIJHIM 8-8, Davison 3

Mr. Ghanim Sadulla's Yaroob 8-1, Ahmed Ali 4

Won by 1 length, 1-1|2 lenghs, and neck.

Time 1min. 39-4|5secs.

First Tote paid Rs. 55 for win; Rs. 188, Rs. 45 and Rs. 30 for places.

Not run:—Asad al Iraq 9-1; Dhibhan 8-10; Montrose 8-6; Taj Hilla 8-1 and Neptune 8-1.

Favourite Silver Star 8-13.

Winner trained by V.V. Powar.

THE DECEMBER HANDICAP

Distance—6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 2000; Second Rs. 700; Third Rs. 300. A Handicap for Horses in Class IV.

Mrs. M. Clarke's IRISH BROADCAST 8-9, Forsyth 1

H.H. Maharaja Jamsaheb of Nawanagar's TAI YANG 8-11, S. Black 2

H.H. the Maharaja of Rajpipla's BETTY BOOP 8-7, Sibbritt 3

Mrs. John Yorke's Greek Jack 8-4, Hardinge 4

Won by head, 1 length and 2-1|2 lengths.

Time 1min. 15-3|5secs.

First Tote paid Rs. 47 for win; Rs. 25 and Rs. 21 for places.

Not run:—Ashvarj 9-4; Her Ladyship 9-3 and Excellence 7-11.

Favourite Tai Yang 8-11 and Greek Jack 8-4.

Winner trained by Moosa.

THE YORK PLATE

Distance—About 1 1|2 miles.

Winner Rs. 6000; Second Rs. 2000; Third Rs. 1000. A Handicap for all horses.

Mr. Begum Feeroza Dulhan's CORCY, 9-7, Blyth 1

H. H. Maharaja of Rajpipla's CARIOCA, 8-3, Graham 2

Mr. Kelso's JALAL SHAH, 8-6, Britt 3

Mrs. John Yorke's TRELAWNE, 8-5, Harding 4

Not Run:—On Time 9-3.

Won by head, 1-1|4 lengths, 1 length.

Time: 2 mins. 43-4|5 secs.

Favourite: Trelawne (8-5).

First tote paid Rs. 101 for win, and Rs. 24, Rs. 18 and Rs. 20 for places.

Winner trained by L. H. Hewitt.

THE QUEENSLAND PLATE

Distance—6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 3000; Second Rs. 1000; Third Rs. 500. A Handicap for Horses in Class III.

Mr. N. D. Bagree's BENEVENTO, 8-2, Northmore 1

H. H. Maharaja of Rajpipla's WOOLWORTH, 9-3, Carslake 2

Mrs. L. Musry' TELLER, 9-4, Simmons 3

Mr. A. Higgins' SUN CLAD, 7-12, Britt 4

Not Run:—Rimmon 7-11.

Won by 1 length, 1|2 length, 1|2 length.

Time: 1 min. 14 secs.

First tote paid Rs. 37 for win, and Rs. 20, Rs. 23 and Rs. 42 for places.

Winner trained by R. Higgins.

THE DURDANS PLATE

Distance—1 mile.

Winner Rs. 8000; Second Rs. 2500; Third Rs. 1500. A Handicap for Horses in Class I.

Mr. P. B. Avasia's DR. STRABISMUS, 8-0, Selby 1

KAMALA NEHRU'S CONDITION

(SPECIAL CABLE).

BADENWEILER: Dec. 27.

The condition of Mrs. Kamala Nehru, though still serious, has slightly improved.

She is able to take more food from to-day.

Pandit Jawaharlal is remaining here with her.

Maharaj Madan Singh's COUNT ITO, 9-4, Carslake 2

Mr. Eve's RISQUE, 9-0, Brace 3

Mr. P. D. Bolton's LE MONT CHEVALIER, 7-7, Britt 4

Not Run:—Diamond Shower 9-7, Dinos 8-2.

Won by shorthead, 3 lengths, 1-3|4 lengths.

Time: 1 min. 39 secs.

First tote paid Rs. 38 for win, and Rs. 12, Rs. 12, and Rs. 13 for places.

Winner trained by G. A. Haji.

THE KEMPTON PARK PLATE

Distance—7 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 5000; Second Rs. 1500; Third Rs. 1000. A Handicap for Horses in Class II.

H. H. Maharaja of Kolhapur's MYRON, 8-1, Cook 1

Mr. P. B. Avasia's BEKORAH, 7-11, Selby 2

Hon'ble Mr. Santaidas Askuran's DOPATTA, 9-2, Munro 3

Mr. O. Randall's LADY BRANDON, 8-9, Brace 4

Not Run:—Beautaur 9-4, Maid of Orleans 9-0.

First tote paid Rs. 74 for win, and Rs. 21, Rs. 18 and Rs. 17 for places.

Winner trained by V.V. Powar.

THE SION PLATE

Distance—1 1|4 miles.

Winner Rs. 4000; Second Rs. 1400; Third Rs. 600. A Handicap for Arabs in Class I.

Winner trained by V. V. Powar.

Mr. A. C. Ardeshir's LEGION OF HONOUR, 8-7, Britt 1

Nawabzada Fakrulmulk's JAHAN ARA, 8-1, Sibbrit 2

Mr. A. M. Khairaz's FIERY FACE, 7-7, Simmons 3

Mr. Jarulla bin Talib's ZOZAN, 7-12, Cook 4

All ran.

First tote paid Rs. 31 for win, and Rs. 22, Rs. 32 and Rs. 31 for places.

Winner trained by Syed Mustapha.

It is a pleasant, refreshing and stimulating combination of blood forming Haemoglobin with an appetising juice of the choicest grapes and nourishing malt extract made from Barley. An ideal digestive and tonic preparation.

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DASS & SON, BOMBAY, 4.

Congress Jubilee Celebrations Marred In Calcutta

Mob Gets Out Of Hand And Police Rush To The Scene; Several Arrests Effected

CALCUTTA, Dec. 28.

Two persons are reported to have been killed and 50 injured as the result of a clash in North Calcutta this morning between Muslims saying their Id prayers and a crowd in close proximity attending a Congress Jubilee celebration meeting.

As a result of this moning's rioting 15 persons are known to have been admitted into the hospital, including a Hindu woman aged fifty.

The Police Commissioner heading a large force has now brought the situation under control.

No confirmation is yet available of the report that two persons were killed in the clash.

A vast assembly of Muslims had gathered at the Deshbandhu Park in North Calcutta for Id prayers this morning.

In close proximity to this assembly, a crowd of Hindus, over 2,000 strong, had met in connection with the Congress Jubilee celebrations.

The latter are reported to have persistently shouted Congress slogans, which the Muslims felt. disturbed their prayers.

In tense atmosphere, the Muslims waited, while leaders of both the sides endeavoured to reach an agreement, but it is stated, as some among the Congress assembly continued shouting the slogans, the Muslims made an attack on the Congress gathering with the above result.

Reinforcements of Police were called up and the situation eventually brought under control.

Precautionary measures are being taken throughout the city.

Jubilee Celebrations Marred.

Fuller details show that the Congress Jubilee celebration this morning was marred by a serious communal disturbance which broke out at Deshbandhu Park, at which Mr. Hardayal Nag was to hoist the National Flag.

At the adjoining ground Muslims had assembled to hold their Id prayers. The Muslims objected to the shouting of Bande Mataram and other Congress slogans, which they said disturbed their prayers and asked the Congress gathering to postpone their function till the Id prayers were over.

Congress leaders thereupon went upto the Muslim leaders and asked them to persuade their men not to create a disturbance and promised to control their men in turn so that the Id prayers might not be disturbed.

But before the leaders of both the parties could get back to their places and acquaint their men with the understanding that had been arrived at, a group of Muslims armed with lathis rushed to the Jubilee pandal and attacked the people assembled there which included a number of women and threw stones and brickbats at the adjoining houses.—

Several Arrested

Several arrests have been made on the spot in the communal clash here.

When trouble was anticipated Mr. Suresh Chandra Majumdar, organiser of the Congress celebratons approached the Muslim leaders and tried to persuade them from creating disturbance but before the leaders could approach the crowds, the disturbance had started. The Muslim crowd numbered about 1,500 while at the Congress pandal there were about 1,000 Congressites including a hundred women. Minor disturbances occurred in other places but no casualty is reported.

A tense situation in Wellington Street, Central Calcutta where Congressites (predominantly Hindu) and Muslims had assembled for jubilee and Id respectively threatened to develop to the same lines as the Deshbandu Park rioting in North Calcutta but was averted by timely police precautions.—*A. P.*

Jubilee Sports At Ghatkopar

(From Our Correspondent.)

GHATKOPAR, Dec. 26.

A public meeting under the joint auspices of the local Hindu Sabha and the Congress Committee was held to-night in commemoration of Swami Shraddhanand on the premises of the Vyamashala, when physical feats and acrobatics were performed in the presence of a large gathering. Mr. Gokulbhai D. Bhat presided.

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(SUNDAY EDITION)

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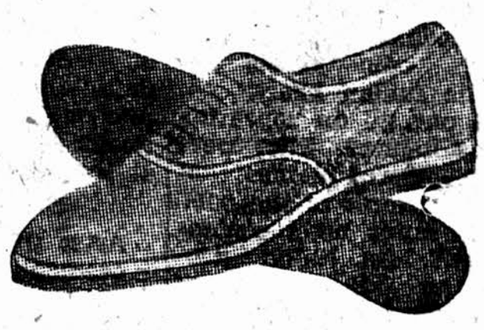

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BOMBAY 9.

All-Party Tribute To Congress

Temple Of Unity And Freedom

Nation Pays Homage To Standard-Bearers Of Swaraj At Jubilee Celebrations

BOMBAY, Saturday.

The unique occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress, brought to-day under one canopy and on the same platform, the Pandit and the Maulana, the Moderate and the "Extremist," the Financier and the Worker, all united in the sole purpose of paying their humble homage to the great patriots, who fifty years ago, this day, founded the Indian National Congress, at a Hall, near Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay.

Felicitations were offered to the Indian National Congress on completing its eventful career of 50 years, fighting for the ideal of India's Independence.

Mrs. Naidu presided and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, described as the link between the generations, "belonging to the early dreams and belonging to to-day's purpose," performed the unveiling of the marble tablet placed at the present Goculdas Tejpal Hostel, Bombay.

On it was the inscription: "In this Historic Hall on the 28th December, 1885, a band of gallant patriots laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress, which during these fifty years, has been built up stone by stone, tier by tier, by the Faith and Devotion, Courage and Sacrifice of countless men and women as the pledge and symbol of their invincible purpose to secure to India, Their Motherland, her legitimate birthright of Swaraj.

"This Tablet Is Placed To Commemorate The Occasion Of Its Golden Jubilee."

—28th December, 1885.

As part of the Jubilee programme, earlier in the day, Babu Rajendra Prasad, hoisted the National Flag, and exhorted the people to preserve the honour of the Flag, just as any other nation did.

Dwarfing all leaders in appearance and size, entered Maulana Shaukat Ali, ready to join the Congress with hundreds of his followers when the moment arose.

Mrs. Naidu's Speech.

A welcome song by a batch of girls commenced the proceedings Mrs. Naidu presided.

"To-day marks an epoch," she began," in the history of our nation, that must move every Indian with pleasure and pride and yet with some pain."

Though there were others who were emmiently fit to preside over this memorable occasion, the chivalry of India had determined that a woman who had the privilege of being the President of the Indian National Congress, should also preside on this occasion.

Standard Bearers.

This was an occasion for Thanksgiving to the departed patriots, famous and anonymous, who had built up the Congress, the symbol of our implacable purpose to win Swaraj for India. It was an Englishman, who first rouse a groups of Indians to be articulate about Indian freedom. Fifty years ago a brave, earnest group met and sowed the first seed, of which we were about to reap the harvest. The nation on this occasion was paying its homage to the Standard-bearers of India's freedom, each name sounding with epic music in every patriotic Indian heart.

How could one go on repeating these glorious names? They were the "hot remembered names of nations," in the words of the poet.

"We do not enter upon controversies to-day," Mrs. Naidu proceeded, "not on discussion of policies." They had met to pay a homage and renew their dedication to the cause of Indian freedom.

Like A River

The Congress had grown from its origin like a small river which started from a trickling stream into a mighty volume of water.

She called upon every one, religious or irreligious, brown or white, God-fearing or God-denying, who formed the mass of people the sons of India, to renew their pledge to serve the cause of Motherland.

To-day many of those present were not officially Congress members, they might have turned aside from the course that the Congress had chalked for itself. Nonetheless, they were citizens, they were patriots and had come to offer their greetings to the Indian National Congress.

She then requested Pandit Malaviya to perform the unveiling of the Tablet.

Tribute to Sir Dinshaw.

Unveiling the Marble Tablet Ponditji paid a tribute to Sir Dinshaw Edulji Watcha, the oldest living President of the Indian National Congress. It was a great pleasure that Sir Dinshaw was able to see the Jubilee of the Congress, though the speaker felt sorry that he was not physically fit to attend the function.

To-day, disappointment at India's failure to obtain political freedom was found everywhere. But in such a prolonged struggle for freedom, it was natural that there would be defeats and successes. The country was ready and the enthusiasm was present and if we continued our effort, we must win.

Panditji in a rapid survey of the development of the political consciousness of the people, observed that whatever reform or advance was found in India, it must be credited to the Indian National Congress. In 1918 at Delhi and in 1919 at Amritsar, the Congress definitely assumed a mass complexion, when on each occasion about 800 peasants were present at the sessions.

Within Ace of Success

After the first civil disobedience movement in 1920-21, untiring efforts were continued till 1930-31, and the country was within an ace of success.

The Indians then believed in the honesty of the Britishers; the nation believed that the British Parliament would be true to its own pledges. But the elections to the House of Commons sent in a conservative majority and a constitution was thrust on the Indians, which took the country backwards, instead of leading it towards progress.

Fifty years of the Congress were not wasted, continued Panditji. Step by step the Congress had progressed; and while the country was groping in darkness fifty years ago, to-day it could find the light of day.

Renewing Pledges

To-day the people were not celebrating a victory; they were renewing their pledges; their path was strewn with obstacles. He made a fervent appeal to all sections in the country to unite. Remembering those who went before the present generation, let the people of India sink their differences and manifest the great national solidarity of the days of 1919 of Amritsar or of 1918 of Delhi.

Embodiment of Unity.

Mr. M.S. Aney observed that the present occasion would remind every Indian of the strenuous efforts and labours of great men, who built the national organisation. The Congress was the embodiment of unity and Indian nationalism. If any one needed proof of Indian unity, he should go to the Congress, which he considered to be the Temple of Indian unity. The Congress had instilled the masses with hope. Though the country had not reached its goal, and had yet to traverse a difficult path, now Indians had come within sight of their goal.

Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan referred to the noble ideal set before the country by the late Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, 'I am an Indian first and Parsi next,' and hoped that the Congress would be the pride of every Indian.

Maulana's Unity Appeal.

Maulana Shaukat Ali made an appeal for unity between all the communities. He hoped to come back to the Congress, with a large number of his followers, the circumstances being favourable, at an early date. He was convinced that no single community could prosper or progress without unity in the country. India ought to have achieved her freedom during the past fifty years, but that purpose was not fulfilled owing to dissension and strife. It must be realised, the Maulana added, that India belonged to no particular community. Unless there was complete unity, national freedom could not be attained.

Sink Differences.

If Indians were sincere about their freedom, then they must unite. Unity could not be achieved by a handful of leaders. Every one in the country must put forth one's effort to achieve harmony. Hindus being the major community, and well placed in other respects, had a great responsibility on their shoulders in accommodating the minor community, so as to inspire confidence in the Muslims. He made a similar appeal to the Muslims to sink their differences with the Hindus. If this unity could be achieved, then freedom's battle could be won in 12 months.

Parsi Greetings.

Dr. M.D.D. Gilder, M.L.C., on behalf of the Parsi community, offered the greetings to the Congress. When he was 10 or 12 years old, the Congress was held in Bombay and he was one of those school-boys who crowded round the tent and were chased away. The boys were able to scratch holes in the can-

(Continued on page 31—Col. 1).

SPARK OF 63 YEARS EXPERIENCE

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BOMBAY BRANCH: KELEWADI NAKA, GIRGAUM ROAD

PT. MALAVIYA'S UNITY APPEAL

(Continued from page 30).

vass with nails and peeped at the distant figures, who were making gestures. They could not hear anything, as there were no loud speakers in those days.

Little did he dream than that among that small group were giant celebrities, men and leaders of great sacrifice. He hoped that guidance vouchsafed to national leaders, unity might be achieved in the country,—unity not based on force but on goodwill and non-violence, leading to India's goal.

Mission For World

Mr. K. Natarajan, who was present as a journalist through the many annual sessions, described the vicissitudes through which the Congress had passed. He himself did not know, if he was a Congressman or a non-Congressman, but certainly he was not an anti-Congressman. India, he believed, had a message and mission for the world outside, and this could not be delivered or carried out, unless she could find a place, in the Council of Nations, equal to any other country. The Congress had tended to bring that movement of peace nearer and he hoped that the Congress would bring peace on earth and goodwill among men.

Mr. R. R. Bakhale, on behalf of the Servants of India Society felicitated the Congress.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, observed that though he was not in the Congress at present, he could say that the Indian National Congress was the only organisation which could win freedom for India.

Miss Maniben Kara on behalf of the working class, extended greeting to the Congress. Congress could not go back in its career until the goal of freedom was attained.

Mrs. Naidu in her concluding remarks, exhorted the Indians to make determined effort for unity in the name of those who had striven for India's cause in the past.

After the "Vande Mataram" was sung, the function came to a successful close.

PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY

Brisk preparations for the celebrations of the Independence Day are going on in the Parel area. The work of the Sub-Committee of the T. U. C. appointed for this purpose is going on with full speed. In addition to the public meetings numerous street corner and chawl meetings are being held.

A public meeting was held at Fergusson Road on Thursday under the presidency of Miss Maniben Kara who explained the necessity of the workers taking part in the Independence Day celebrations. She said that the conditions of the exploited masses will not improve so long as they do not wield political powers. They must therefore struggle for complete Independence and control the Congress in order to lead that struggle. She appealed to the workers to attend the Independence Day meeting and place before the Congress the programme of real Independence.

Mr. Kondvikar who spoke next said that the Bombay working class has seen that its condition cannot improve permanently under the present system. Independence to the workers is nothing but the end of their exploitation.

Mr. Deshapande speaking on behalf of the "G" Ward Congress Committee said that the Congress is fighting for Independence for the last 50 years. Its programme has changed from time to time and has become more and more radical as the struggle devoloped.

PATNA WEARS FESTIVE GARB

PATNA, Dec. 28.

Patna City, the site of ancient Pataliputra, wears this morning a remarkable appearance, the whole place having been converted into a beflagged city, studded with arches of varied designs and covered with flags, festoons and buntings. The whole of yesterday evening till late in the night, businessmen and other citizens were seen busy with decorations. Tri-coloured Congress flag is everywhere in evidence. Jubilee celebrations have commenced with Prabhat Pheris both in Patna and Patna City and tremendous enthusiasm is witnessed everywhere.

FIGHT FOR TRI-COLOUR.

Amid solemn scenes, the celebrations programme commenced with the hoisting of the National Flag and placing wreaths at the cenotaph in memory of the martyrs in the cause of freedom. Acharya Badrinath Varma, hoisting the National Flag in the Congress grounds before a large audience, reminded the people of the significance of flag hoisting and honouring the martyrs who had given their lives in upholding that flag. India's National Flag, he said, was the symbol of her distinctive culture aspirations and stood for national harmony and the fullest national freedom.

He felt sure that the entire country on this solemn occasion would renew the pledge to maintain inviolate the honour of India's National Flag.

After his speech, there was a rush of people with flowers and wreaths to be placed on the cenotaph. The audience consisted among others of a number of respectable ladies.

MRS. MOTILAL HOISTS FLAG

(From Our Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 28.

The Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations began here with great enthusism with Prabhat Pheris early morning. At 9-30 a.m., Mrs. Motilal Nehru, lean and trembling, unfurled the Congress flag on the Swaraj Bhawan in the presence of a gathering of Congressmen and others. It was a most solemn and imposing ceremony fittingly performed by Mrs. Motilal, for the Swaraj Bhawan is Motilal's gift to the nation. Among those present were Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, Mrs. Vijaylaxmi and R. S. Pandit and Pt. Govind Malaviya.

SAPRU ON CONGRESS ACHIEVEMENTS.

In a message to the Editor of the "Hindu" of Madras, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says "the Congress has instiled into the Indian mind love of freedom; it has rescued the self respect of India; it has developed a spirit of sacrifice for national work; but it has yet to create a genuine spirit of national unity."

Poona's Homage To Patriots

POONA, Dec. 28.

Homage to the memory of Mr. Gokhale and Lokmanya Tilak, great patriots from Poona, marked the commencement of the Congress Jubilee celebrations here this morning. A well-attended Prabhat Pheri headed by a battalion of Sevikas paraded the streets of the City and flag salutation ceremonies were performed at different places.—United Press.

Poona.—The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha meets this evening after Bhai Parmanand's arrival. The Subjects Committee meets to-night.—United Press.

NO SERIOUS TROUBLE

Peace In Calcutta

CALCUTTA, Dec. 28.

As regards the casualties of this morning's communal fracas at the Deshbandhu Park, the latest report based on enquiries at the Carmichael Medical College Hospital shows that while over 40 persons were brought there for administering first aid, nearly twenty persons including one elderly Hindu lady were discharged as their injuries were of slight nature.

The situation in Northern Calcutta is now perfectly peaceful.

At the time of wiring the situation was found to be under control. The only redeeming feature of this morning is disturbance is that it is essentially localised to a particular part of North Calcutta. Id prayers in other parts of the City passed off smoothly. Adequate police precautions have been taken at all important centres in the City to guard against further untoward developments.—United Press.

IN ALLAHABAD

(From Our Correspondent).

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 28.

A procession attended by about 2,000 persons was the third item in the Congress Jubilee celebrations here. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Mohamed Ali Park. A large number of Muslims were also present.

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon presided. Speeches were delivered relating the achievements of the Congress.

MADRAS MAYOR'S FELICITATION

The Mayor of Madras has sent a congratulating message to the Congress President on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee.

MILE-LONG PROCESSION IN LUCKNOW

LUCKNOW, Dec. 28.

The Golden Jubilee of the Congress was celebrated by the Lucknow citizens in a befitting manner. Under the auspices of the city Congress Committee a whole day programme was carried out.

A grand procession of a mile long, headed by hundreds of women paraded throughout the city and terminated in a mammoth meeting under the chairmanship of Dr. Murarilal.

After Bande Mataram the huge concourse of the audience stood up solemnly and silently paid tributes to the countrys' martyrs. Mr. Chandrabhan Gupta, president of the Town Congress Committee read the Congress President's message and later Messrs. Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and Balmukand Bajpai narrated briefly the history of the Congress during last fifty years.—United Press.

IN PATNA

PATNA, Dec. 28.

A Patna message says that the town witnessed the largest public meeting in recent times. All communities joined in paying their tribute and homage to the Congress. Khan Bahadur Navaz S. Ismail presided over the meeting.

FYZABAD BAN ON PROCESSION

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 27.

Mr. A. D. Dixon, Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Fyzabad, has issued an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code forbidding the taking out of any procession by the Congress on December 28, or any other date of December.—United Press.

DIABETES SUFFERERS!!

Here is Proof For You

Mr. B. S. MAYEKAR, Service, Small Causes Court A'Block No. 9, Burrows Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay writes on 18-10-35:—

It gives me great and sincere pleasure in testifying to the real efficacy of Dr. S. R. Iyengar's medicinal drugs. I was suffering from DIABETES for over 9 years and had tried many well-known doctors of Bombay but without any effect. I then put myself under the treatment of the said Dr. Iyengar and he prescribed a course of 48 days for me. As each week progressed, the disease that could not at all be controlled before, began to abate with the result that I was completely cured and at the end of the course in such a marvellous way that I can very well say that Dr. Iyengar is not a Diabetes Specialist in name but a SPECIALIST indeed in reality. My S. P. Gravity which was 1039 in the beginning of course came down to 1010 at the end and grains of sugar per ounce of urine fell down from 26 to "Nil" while sediments were not at all visible.

WITHOUT DELAY.

Consult personally Dr. S. R. Iyengar, Diabetes Specialist at Dahanukar Building, Bomanji Master St., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay No. 2, between the hours of 9 to 11 a.m. and 5 to 7 p.m.

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Let Us Bow Down To Those Who Have Laid Down Their Lives

Congress President's Jubilee Tribute To Martyrs In Cause Of Freedom

The following is the text of Babu Rajendra Prasad's Message to the nation:—

"This day fifty years ago, the National Congress met for the first time in Bombay with only a sprinkling of delegates who could hardly be called elected representatives, but who were nevertheless true servants of the people of India. This Congress had the freedom of the people as its definite goal, but 'freedom' was an undefined word. It has now obtained a concrete shape; it means Poorna Swaraj or complete independence; it means control by the chosen representatives of India. It means freedom not for one class or race or clan, but freedom for all including the poorest of her people. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom. The means for the attainment of that goal are also well-defined. They must be legitimate and peaceful. These means have been knowingly adopted by the Congress since 1920. In their most acute form they have included non-violent non-cooperation, and civil i.e., non-violent resistance, under which thousands of people, men and women, have suffered imprisonment, confiscation of property and loss of their cherished possessions. Many have suffered personal injury, even death, through firing, lathi charges, and the like. For reasons well-known to all, Civil Resistance has been suspended.

ITS PROGRAMME.

From a very small beginning the Congress has now become the most powerful political organisation representing the masses of India, and has branches covering the whole of the country from the Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari in the extreme south. Its present programme includes membership in the legislatures, revival of and encouragement to hand-spinning and hand-weaving, promotion of small useful village industries, reconstruction of village life in its economic, educational, social and hygienic aspects, removal of untouchability, promotion of inter-communal unity, abstinence, national education, spread of useful knowledge among adult population, organisation of industrial labour, organition of peasants, and improvement of their economc conditon by the revival of village industries.

"The Congress thus covers about every sphere of National activity. It has had the adherence of some of the noblest of men and women of India as also of the masses, who have responded to the Congress call to sacrifice. Such an organisation may well be proud of its ahievement. But this is no time for jubilation, or resting on our oars. The work yet to be accomplished is great and needs much patient toil, endless sacrifice, and unflinching determination.

TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS

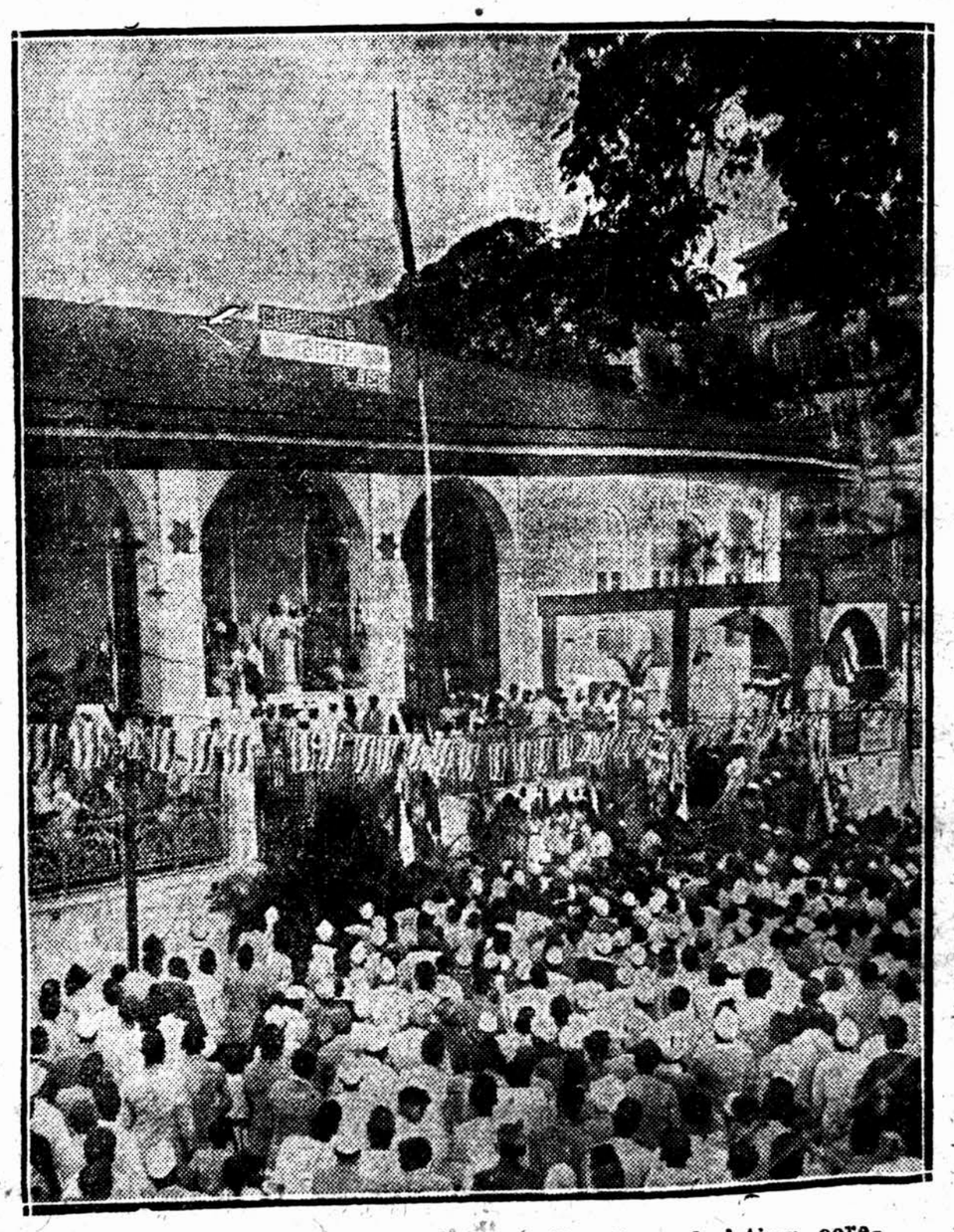
"Let us bow down our heads to all those men, women and children—known and unknown—who have laid down their lives for the freedom of India, who have suffered woes and privations, and who are still paying the penalty for loving their motherland. Let us to-day also in grateful reverence recall the services of those who sowed the seeds of this mighty organisation, who nurtured it with their unremitting labour and sacrifice.

"The small seedling that was planted fifty years ago has now grown into a mighty tree with branches spreading over this vast country, and has now blossomed in their sacrifices of countless men and women. It is for those that are now left behind to nourish the tree by their further services and sacrifice so that it may bear fruit and make India the free and prosperous country that nature intended her to be. Let this be a day of remembrance and of renewing our resolve to win Poorna Swaraj, which, in the late Lokamanya's words, is our birth right."

WILL CALCUTTA KEEP PEACE?

Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, has sent the following telegram to Mr. Suresh Muzumdar, Calcutta, in connection with the reported clash between Congressmen and Muslims:—

"Deeply distressed at the sad news of the Congress-Muslim clash, otherwise the celebrations are peaceful. Please avoid all possible occasions for clash even by suspending programme. Hope the situation would be eased. Wire details—Rajendraprasad."



Babu Rajendra Prasad performed the flag hoisting ceremoney at the G. T. Pathshala on Saturday morning in the presence of a large gathering.

Seething Mass Of Humanity

Enthusiasm reminiscent of the heyday of the Civil Disobedience movement was witnessed at the Azad Maidan on Saturday afternoon when all the roads leading to Dhobi Talao were crowded with men, women and children hastening to join the procession organised by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the occasion of the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations.

Mile-Long Procession

A mile-long procession headed by Mr. K. F. Nariman, the Provincial Congress Chief, commenced its three-mile long march at exactly 3 p.m.

After wending its way through Kalbadevi, Bhuleshwar, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Lamington Road and Grant Road, the procession terminated at the Gowalia Tank Maidan exactly two hours after the start.

Pandit M. M. Malaviya, one of the ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress, unveiled on Saturday morning the memorial tablet at the Goculdas Tejpal Pathshala, where the first session of the Congress was held in 1885. Photo shows, at the right, Panditji in the act of unveiling the tablet, while, at the left, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is seen addressing the gathering on the occasion.

PRESERVE HONOUR OF FLAG

The Jubilee Day programme commenced on Saturday Morning, with the National Flag hoisting, by Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress.

Prabhat Pheri parties from almost all the wards in the city marched to the G. T. Hostel building, where the celebrations were held.

Babu Rajendra Prasad, in unfurling the National Flag, said that on that memorable day the National Flag was being hoisted in almost every place in India. He exhorted Indians to preserve the honour of the Flag just as every nation had done with its Flag.

RAJEN BABU TO VISIT SWADESHI BAZAR

Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, will visit the Shurji Vallabhdas Swadeshi Bazar to-day at 6 p.m. (S.T.)

Beginnings Of The Big National Struggle

When One Reviews Early Activities Of Congress One Cannot But Bow One's Head In Profound Reverence To The Great Patriots Who First Held Aloft Torch Of Light Amidst Surrounding Gloom

(By M. S. Aney, M.L.A.)

The celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress during the Christmas week this year is undoubtedly a unique event in the history of our struggle for Independence.

It has gone through various phases during the last fifty years. Even now it is not possible for us to say whether the present phase is the last and the final one. It will not be improper to indicate roughly the various periods of the struggle before entering on the examination of the nature of the work done in the first period with which I propose to deal prominently in this short article. In the period of first 20 years—1885 to 1905—we find the movement running under the undisputed leadership of those great men who founded the movement on the lines laid down by them at the beginning.

The period from 1905 to 1907 was one of civil war between the extremist party and the moderate party ending in the embroglio of Surat. On the declaration of the goal of the movement as Swaraj by late Dadabhai Naoroji in his Presidential address at Calcutta in 1906, the extremist party led by Lok Tilak, Arabindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal insisted on the Congress pursuing more energetically the methods of self-reliance which were partially recognised as legitimate under the pressure of public opinion at the Calcutta session. The gulf between the two wings widened more and more. The venue of the Congress was changed from Nagpur to Surat in 1907 as the extremist party was in ascendency in the Congress Committee at the former place. At Surat the moderate party succeeded in driving the extremist element by adjourning the Congress "sine die."

From 1908 to 1915 the moderates were the the masters of the situation. The sessions of the Congress held during this period were styled as "Convention Congress." At Surat, after the dispersal, the Moderates formed themselves into a convention and there prepared a constitution under which the right of representation was restricted not to public meetings, but certain public bodies. The movement suffered terribly in popularity, Number of delegates attending the sessions of the Congress, instead of being thousands as before, dwindled down only to a few hundred. While the number of delegates at Calcutta was near 1700 in 1906, it came down to 207 at Bankipur (Patna), where the Congress met under the Presidentship of late R.B.R.N. Mudholkar in 1912.

In the year 1908 after the split at Surat Lok Tilak was prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment and kept in Mandalay Jail. In the absence of their leader no efforts could be made to bridge over the gulf and bring about some workable compromise between the two political parties. On his release in 1914 these efforts were renewed by late Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

1916 Lok. Tilak declared at Belgaum his resolve to join the Congress with his followers.

The period from 1916 to 1919 is one of the glorious chapters in the history of the Congress. Union of the two wings of the Congress, the demonstration of the hold which the extremist party had over the entire nation, the establishment of Hindu-Muslim Unity, the preparation of the Congress League scheme, the combined opposition to Montagu reforms for a considerable period, the determination of the Nation to avenge the Punjab wrongs, the entry of Mahatma Gandhi at Amritsar and the compromise between late Lok. Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi regarding the form of the resolution relating to reforms, the release of political prisoners in response to public opinion are some of the prominent achievements of the combined efforts of the two parties in the Congress during this period.

From 1920 to 1935 we enter upon a period where the Congress separated from the old methods altogether and took up the task of training the Nation for a struggle with the authorities, with Non-violence and Truth as their watchword and non-co-operation and Satyagraha as the weapons of political warfare; Petitions and Prayers were altogether excluded as obsolete and derogatory to the self-respect of the Nation from the programme and a new programme of constructive work emphasising prominently the manufacture and use of hand-spun and handwoven cloth, abstinence from liquor and other intoxicating drugs, removal of untouchability and national education, in addition to the well-known "Triple boycott" was placed before the country. The glory of the fight carried on during the last 15 years and particularly from 1930 to 1934 is fresh in the minds of the reader.

In this article I propose to mention briefly what strikes me as the salient features of the activities of the Congress during the first period.

The greatest achievement of this National institution is the creation of a political awakening and a sense of political consciousness in the people who were not only illiterate and traditionally indifferent to politics, but hopelessly divided among themselves owing to differences of race, religion, customs, culture and historic traditions. The immensity of the achievement cannot be properly realised unless we take due notice of the physical barriers of long distances which separated one part of this great country from the other without any adequate cheap facilities and resources, even for the leaders to be in constant and day-to-day communication with each other. This circumstance will explain as to why the Congress organisation had long remained only an annual demonstration and declined to take up any programme of work requiring constant and ceaseless activity on their part throughout the year all over the country. The task of moulding these divergent and discordent elements into one political nation struggling in a

(Continued on Page 80)

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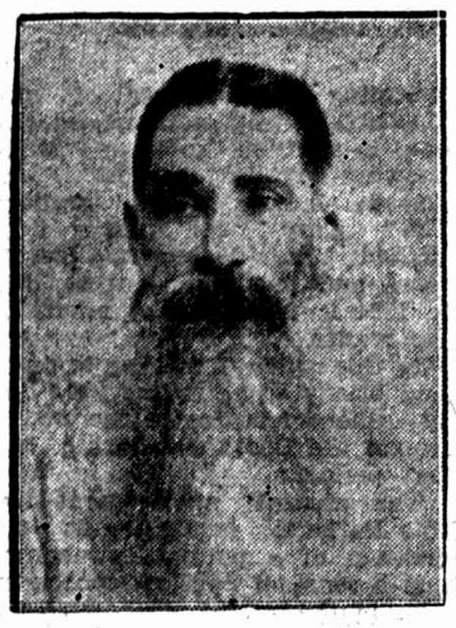
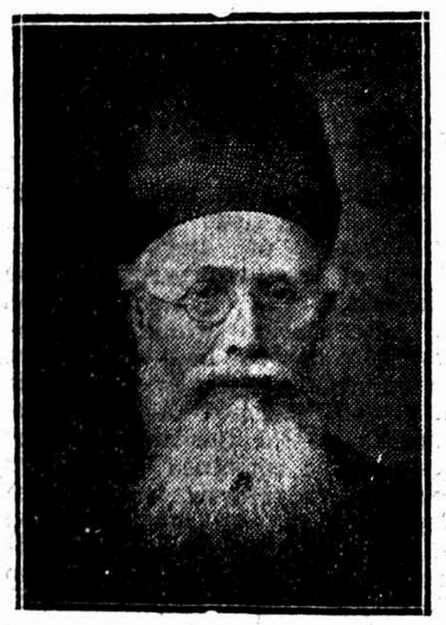
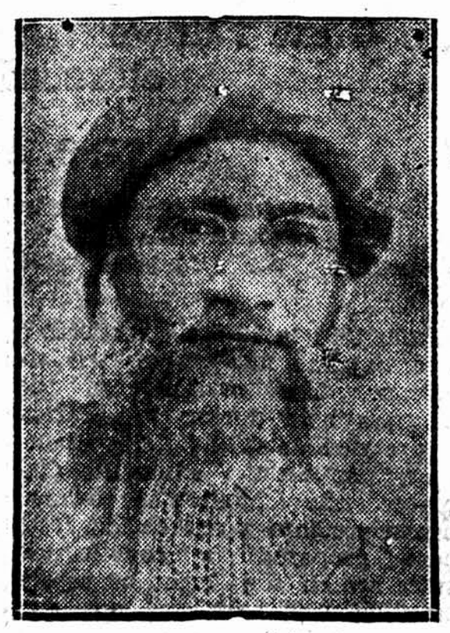


WOMESH CHANDRA BONNERJEE
(1885—Bombay, and 1892—Allahabad).

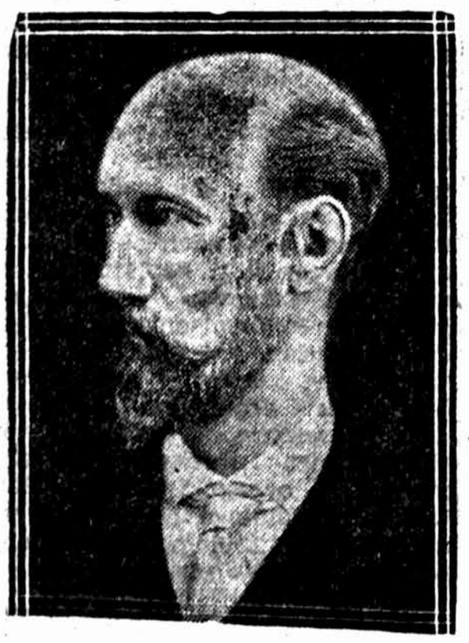


DADABHAI NAOROJI
(1886—Calcutta, 1893—Lahore and 1906—Calcutta).



BADRUDDIN TYABJI
(1887—Madras).

GEORGE YULE
(1888—Allahabad).

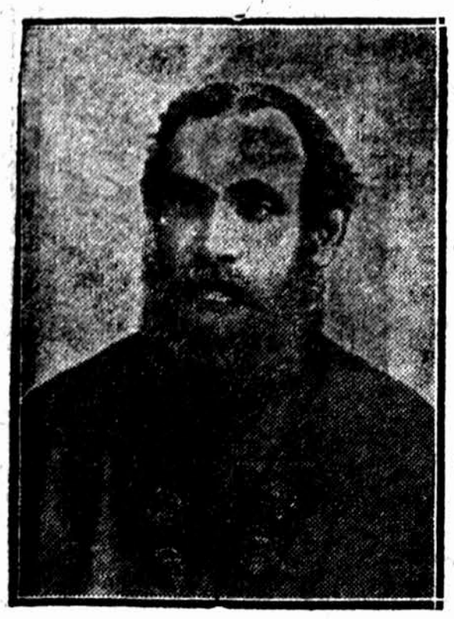


SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN
(1889—Bombay, and 1910—Allahabad).

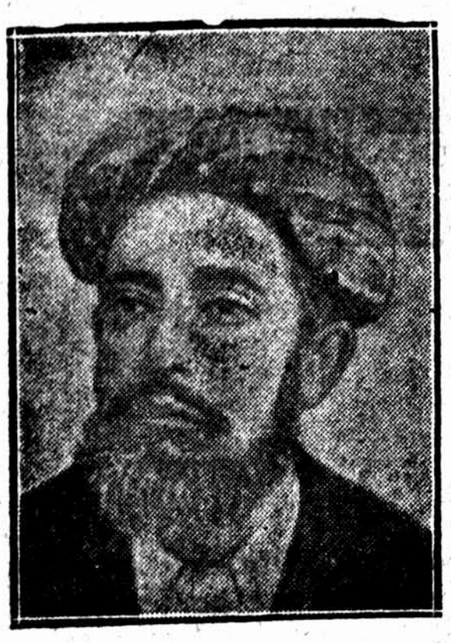
PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA
(1890—Calcutta).

P. ANANDA CHARLU
(1891—Nagpur).

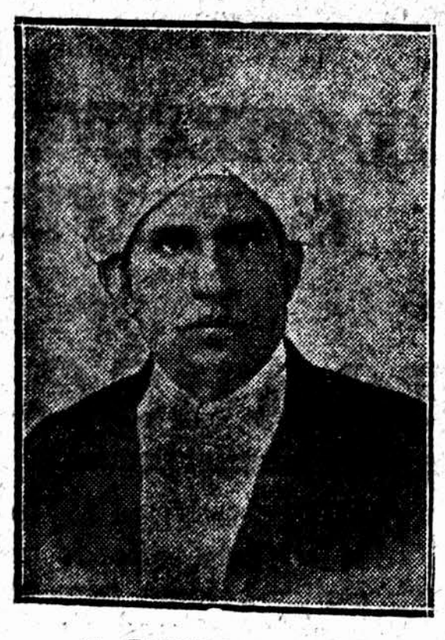
ALFRED WEBB
(1894—Madras).



SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA
(1895—Poona, and 1902—Ahmedabad).



RAHIMTOOLA M. SAYANI
(1896—Calcutta).

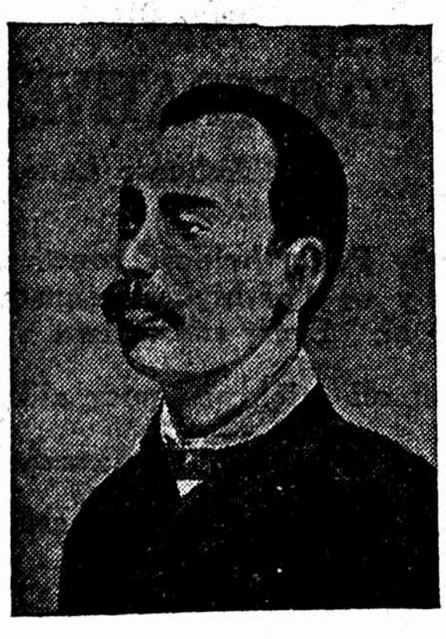


C. SANKARAN NAIR
(1897—Amraoti).

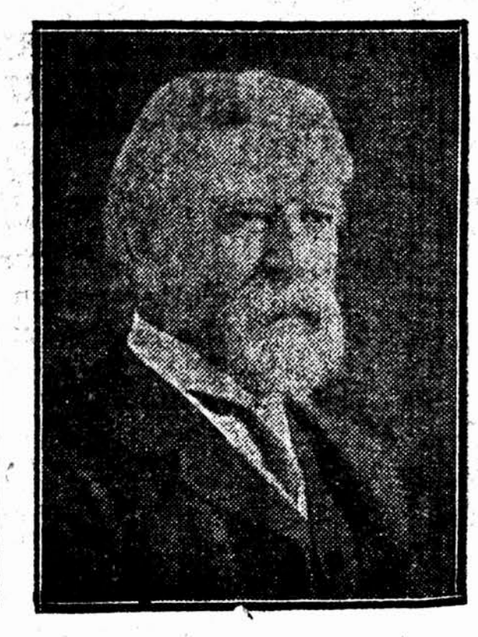
ANANDA MOHAN BOSE
(1898—Madras).

ROMESH CHANDRA DUTT
(1899—Lucknow).

NARAYAN G. CHANDAVARKAR
(1900—Lahore).



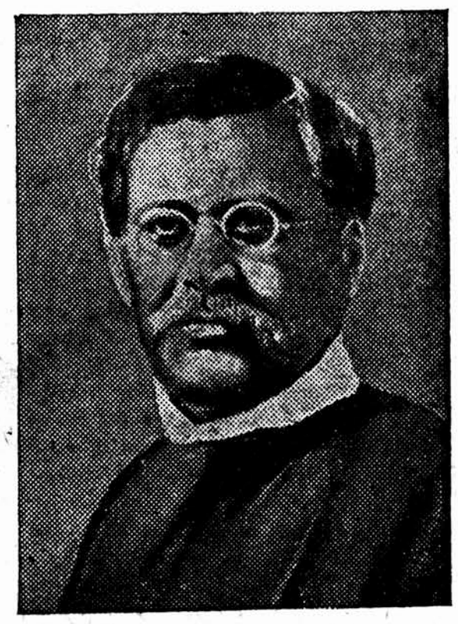
LAL MOHAN GHOSE
(1903—Madras).



SIR HENRY COTTON
(1904—Bombay).

Since 1885

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE
(1905—Benares).

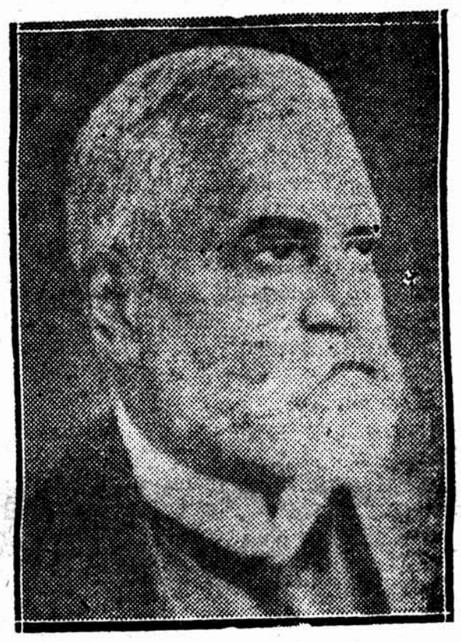


DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSH
(1907—Surat and 1908—Madras).

BISHAN NARAYAN DHAR
(1911—Calcutta).

R. N. MUDHOLKAR
(1912—Bankipur).

NAWAB SYED MAHOMED
(1913—Karachi).



BHUPENDRA NATH BASU
(1914—Madras).

SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA
(1915—Bombay).

AMBICA CHARAN MUZUMDAR
(1916—Lucknow).

MRS. ANNIE BESANT
(1917—Calcutta).

SYED HASAN IMAM
(1918—Bombay—Special Session).

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
(1919—Amritsar and 1928—Calcutta).

LALA LAJPAT RAI
(1920—Calcutta—Special Session).

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN
(1921—Ahmedabad).

CHITTA RANJAN DAS
(1922—Gaya).

MOULANA MAHOMED ALI
(1923—Cocanada).

MRS. NELLIE SEN GUPTA
(1933—Calcutta).

The Photographs of 11 Living Presidents appear on the Front Cover Page.

CONGRESS & LABOUR

Organised Workers Must Dominate Congress To Fight For Socialism

(By V. V. Giri, M.L.A.)

The Indian National Congress was established in the year 1885 with the sole object of securing self-government for India. Its object was merely political in its outlook and it ended each year by passing resolutions which were forwarded to the Government. For nearly fifteen years it was confined to a few educated people who used to meet year after year in big cities. The partition of Bengal created a spirit of resistance during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and opened the eyes of our countrymen to the necessity of extending organisation into the country. Later, the World War effected a great change in the outlook of the people of various countries; India was no exception to it. Lokamanya Tilak began his great Home Rule Movement in Maharastra and carried for the first time organisation into the villages. Mrs. Beasant followed later by the organisation of the Home Rule Movement throughout India. Soon after the war, i.e., about 1918 Mahatma Gandhi started his Satyagraha campaign followed by the Non-Co-operative Movement which directly established Congress connection with the masses. The Government's pretensions till then that Congress merely represented the educated discontents and that the Government represented the masses was challenged with success. It was during this period that the country had realised that unless every village and hamlet is organised and its resources are exploited for the benefit of the nation as a whole, there is no permanent salvation for the country.

into the country. Later, the world

It was Deshbandu Das that firstly clearly and in unmistakable terms stated what Swaraj meant in his famous Faridpur speech in 1923. He conceived Swaraj not merely in terms of classes but primarily in the interests of the masses. It was enunciated that Swaraj meant little or nothing to vast masses of humanity in India unless it is followed by economic Swaraj wherein the Government can guarantee every citizen the right to live by conceding the right to work.

It is, therefore, right and just that with the growing consciousness of the people and the sacrifices that they have made, the foundations of real Swaraj were laid on the basis of the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at Kar..chi. The preamble of the resolution with the necessary clauses may be quoted as being relevant for the purpose:

Fundamental Rights according to the Congress include,

(1) freedom of association and combination;
(2) freedom of speech and of press;
(3) equal rights and obligations to all citizens without any bar on account of sex;
(4) no disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste or creed, in regard to public employment or in exercise of any trade or calling;
(5) equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort, adult suffrage, free education;
(6) lifing wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment;
(7) The abolition of contract labour;
(8) Provision for maternity benefits;
(9) right of labour to form Unions to protect their settlement of disputes through arbitration;
(10) substantial reduction in agricultural rents or revenue paid by the peasantry;
(11) control over exchange and currency policy to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses;
(12) control by the State of key industries and ownership of mineral resources;
(13) control of usury.'

KARACHI RESOLUTION

The resolution of the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress speaks for itself. It indicates a radical change from a mere nationalist attitude for mere political independence of the country to that of a socialistic order of things in the country. It may, however, be stated that it may not be a full-blooded socialist programme. Socialism implies complete ownership and control by a State of the means of production, distribution and exchange and, therefore, the critics of the Congress might say that the Congress has not gone far enough in its view of matters and as such the Congress is a bourgeoise body. It must be distinctly remembered that the Congress is founded and even now worked by middle class politicians among whom are found capitalists, landlords, intellectuals and some representatives of working classes or of organised trade unions. Therefore, it is all the greater credit to the Congress that, in spite of the tendencies towards capitalism in the Congress, the opinions should follow towards socialistic principles being introduced in the Congress. A good deal of credit for this new orientation is due to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was responsible along with Mahatma Gandhi for the introduction of the resolution on Fundamental Rights at the Karachi Congress; but later he further took up the difficult task of instilling the principles of socialism which were not hitherto understood by different sections of our countrymen, through his thoughtful articles entitled "Whither India?" which were the result of his reflections in jail about the future of the country. By these writings, he gave a clear lead to the country as to what the future constitution of India should be.

END ALL EXPLOITATION

In one of his articles, he stated as follows:

"India's immediate goal can, therefore, only be considered in terms of ending of all exploitation of her people; politically this must mean independence and the severance of the British connection, which means imperialist domination. Economically and socially, it must mean the ending of all special class privileges and vested interests."

At another place he is clearer in his vision when he further emphasizes the following:—

"But whether socialism or communism is the right answer or some other one, one thing is certain—that the answer must be in terms of economics and not merely politics. For India and the world are oppressed by economic problems and there is no escaping them; so long as the full-all economic freedom does not come, there can be no freedom, whatever the political structure may be. Economic freedom must of course include political freedom. That is the reality to-day; all else is myth and delusion."

He is also quite clear in his view that the outlook of our nation should be towards internationalism and not merely nationalism and to quote his own words, he stated,

"National isolation is neither desirable nor a possible ideal in a world which is daily becoming more of a unit. International and intra national activities dominate the world and nations are growing more and more interdependent. We must be prepared to discard a narrow nationalism in favour of world co-operation and real internationalism. Gradually, the nationalist struggle for political freedom is becoming a social struggle also for economic freedom, independence and socialist state become the objectives."

Nobody, therefore, can say that he has not set up a clear objective and the clearest ideal along which a nationalist, a trade unionist and a socialist can work to bring about the results mentioned at the earliest opportunity.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S EXPERIENCE.

Pandit Jawaharlal is quite clear in the mind that unless the modern capitalism disappears, there is no salvation for the future, not only of this country but of the world. It must, however, be stated that the Congress as it is at present constituted, cannot be converted by the stroke of the pen into a workers' organisation and the Congress must take the different classes into its fold for securing political independence and self-respect for the nation. For instance, in order to destroy the Tsardom in Russia, all progressive elements, be they middle class or working class, had to combine in achieving the result. A Kerensky came into power soon after the revolution in Russia, representing, as he did, a middle class Government and it was only by a later struggle by which the dictatorship of the proletariat was established by Lenin after abolishing both the upper class as represented by the Tsar and the middle classes as well, to a great extent. It may also be noted that while Soviet Government first wanted an immediate international state based upon expropriation of all property and an immediate establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, it had to change its tactics to suit circumstances and their present immediate objective is the creation of a socialst state in Russia first, before everything else. To that extent, they even modified their plans and methods by having diplomatic and commercial treaties with capitalist countries for the time being. In the matter of abolishing private ownership of land by small and big farmers, they took at least a few years before the Soviet Government could abolish individual farms in favour of State farms and even now, the programme has not wholly been accomplished. It does not mean that the Soviet Government abandoned their ideals or objectives, but only considered that these tactics were necessary in a transitory period for the realisation of the ultimate ideals.

Therefore, during a period of transition, the representatives of the working classes in India should not expect that the Congress would turn out simply because they wish it, into a working class organisation. Nobody is against the workers in having their separate organisations, but if they want to dominate the Congress machinery and if they did not succeed so far, the fault lies at their door. The workers' organisations have not taken that interest in the Congress politics as they ought to have done. If they did, the very programme of the Congress at which a good deal of criticism is laid by the working class representatives, might and could have been avoided. In fact, the view of Pandit Jawaharlal's school is that if once the political independence is attained by the country, the only class that will have the real interest to shaping further destinies of the Congress and run it, will be the woking class. When imperialist domination disappears, there will only be two parties in the country, the capitalist and the workers. There will be an attempt on the part of the capitalist to perpetuate capitalism, while the workers would by virtue of their organisation, try and establish an ideal socialist state.

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Congress Control Of Provincial Governmeuts

Chances Of Nationalist Candidates In Capturing Substantial Majority Of Seats In Various Legislatures Analysed

(By K. T. SHAH, Bar-at-Law).

While discussing on the advisability of capturing the new Provincial Assemblies, under the Constitution of 1935, still holds the field, it would be interesting to speculate on the chances of the Congress candidates obtaining seats in the several Provincial Legislatures in such numbers as to be able to make or unmake Governments in those Provinces; or to render the Constitution a series of insurmountable deadlocks. The material for pronouncing any reliable opinion on this matter is, indeed, still very defective. While the Indian Delimitation Committee is still examining the problem of distributing the seats in the Provincial Legislatures, and while the final authority has yet to decree the actual grouping of the constituences, it is next to impossible to make a tolerably accurate forecast of the verdict of the electorate if annd when it is sought at the polls. It is indeed, a well-worn trick of the Parties in power to rearrange constituencies and regroup voters, so as to advantage their own Party to the utmost possible limit; and there is no reason to doubt that what the Gladstones and Greys did in the last century, time and again, their descendants or disciples would omit to do in the current century.

Decisive Factor

Despite this handicap, an attempt at some sort of a forecast might be made, from the general layout of the Provincial Legislatures, as prescribed in the Tables attached to the Fifth Schedule of the Act of 1935; as also from the known results of voting strength in certain provinces at the last Assembly elections. The Constituencies and voters for the Assembly elections under the Montford Constitution are, of course, not identical with those for the Provincial Legislatures in the new Constitution. Nevertheless, the large proportions of those qualified to vote under the existing constitution having recorded their suffrage, it is not unfair to assume them to be representative of the prevailing sentiments in their parts of the country. Franchise has, indeed, been considerably widened; and, if the more propertied voter, or one with older and more established status, could vote in such numbers for a given trend of political opinion, it is not too much to conclude, from paroty of reasoning, that an electorate widened in the direction of much lower property qualification, or lesser status, would demonstrate itself to be of the same general trend, only far more emphatically. Secondly, the division, for electoral purposes, of the Provinces, into classes and interests and communities,—not to mention sexes,—may also indicate, from the known tendencies of some of the most important of these classes, interests or communities, the general political complexion of the candidates they would return. Finally, the appeal that each electioneering party makes to the electorate; and the organinsation which conducts the electioneering,—not to speak of the calibre of the candidates selected to contest the several constituencies,—would also have a great weight in deciding the final result. The following attempt, based on some of the factors mentioned abovev, claims to be no more than a mere essay in political prophesying, which may not come true at all; but for which, the writer would advance such reasons as seem to him to be most relevant to the points at issue.

Hopeful Outlook In Madras

Taking the Legislative Assemblies first, let us begin with Madras, which showed in the last Assembly Elections a cent per cent loyalty to the Congress creed. The Madras Legislative Assembly would, under the new Constitution, be composed of 215 members, elected from the several constituencies as follows:—

General (Non-Muhammedan, Non-Christian, non-Sikh, non-Anglo-Indian, non-European) ..	146
(Of these, reserved for Scheduled Castes 30)	
Muhammadans ..	28
Anglo-Indians ..	2
Europeans ..	3
Indian Christians ..	8
Backward Areas and Tribes ..	1
Commerce, Industry, Mining and Planting ..	6
Landholders ..	6
Labour ..	6
University ..	1
Women (General 6, Mussalman 1, Indian Christian 1) ..	8

In a House of 215, 108 make an absolute majority; and 120 may be considered to make a safe working majority. What chances are there of the Congress minded candidates securing such a majority in the Madras Legislative Assembly? Though Mussalmans may have Nationalist sympathies, they may not,—probably will not—identiify hemselves unreservedly with the Congress. If the Congress secures 8 out of 28 Mussalman seats, there would be every reason for satisfaction. The remainder would not be always hostile to the Congress; they may even collaborate in all essential matters; but we should not reckon them as officially and uniformly for Congress politics. We do not yet know the distribution of seats as between the Town and the Country in Madras. But that Presidency has a very large percentage of literacy, and very little distinction of interests between the Urban and the Rural population. The Congress sentiment is powerful and universal; and so of the 116 unreserved General seats, the Congress may capture a 100, or even 110. It must be remembered, however, that the Brahmin Non-Brahmin sentiment is acute, and the party in power has sedulously cultivated it. With the extension of the electorate, it is not inconceivable that the non-Congress, non-Brahmin majority might assert itself, though, judging from the results of last year's Assembly elections, any catastrophe change in this direction may be ruled out of court. We would be on the safe side if we assume that 100 out of the 116 General, unreserved seats would fall to the Congress share.

Depressed Class Seats

Of the 30 Reserved General Seats for the Depressed Classes, the probabilities are that they may be arrayed against the Congress, in so far as the Congress is represented successfully as being a high caste Hindus' organisation. In proportion, however, as the Congress lines itself up more and

(Continued on Page 45)

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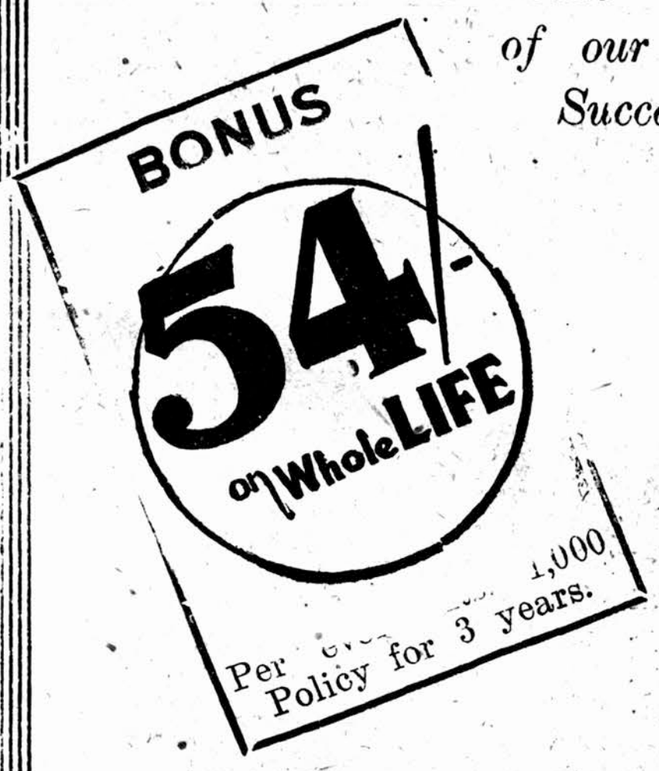

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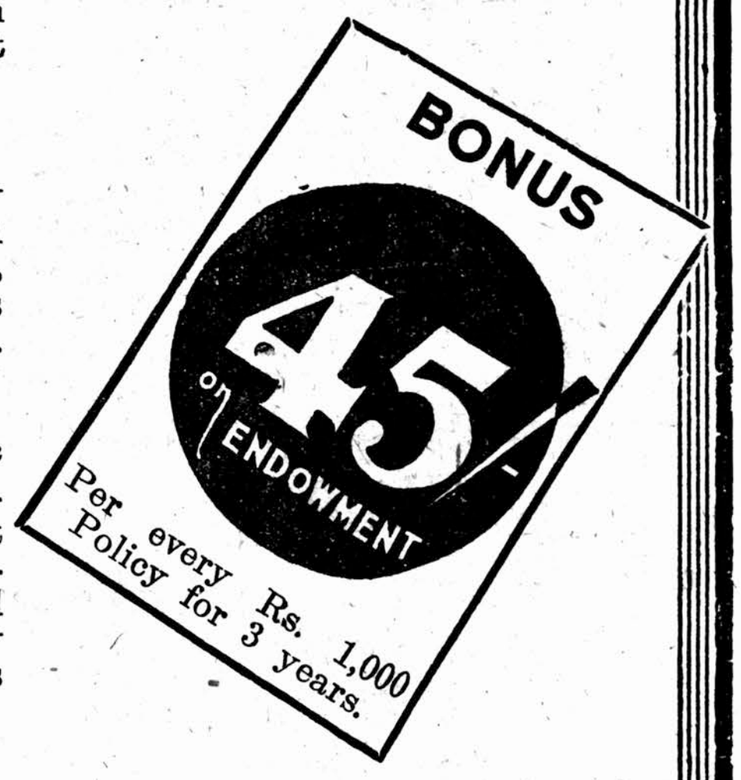

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WAY OUT OF COMMUNAL TANGLE

Congress Method Of Conciliation Is Only Method Of Winning Mutual Trust

(By S. D. DEO).

The Indian National Congress stands and strives for the freedom of 350 millions of Indian people irrespective of caste or creed. It claims that the Indians have as much right to live as free men in India and have absolute freedom to evolve their own destiny as the Englishmen or the Japanese have in their own countries. Liberty-loving England accepts this claim in words but denies it in deeds. For she knows that though 350 millions in number, the Indians are a house divided against itself. There are the Hindus, the Musalmans the Parsis, the Sikhs and the Christians and though each of them individually and separately admits that Indians must be free and master in their own house, collectively, they even refuse to demand—leave aside to fight for—freedom.

LACK OF MUTUAL TRUST.

The reason is quite obvious. These different communities do not trust one another. Each community thinks that its safety depends upon the presence of the foreigner. The Englishman for the last 150 years has so managed the affairs of this country that a false sense of security under his rule has been created in the minds of these various communities. The average Mussalman or the average Hindu honestly believes that not only his religion or culture, but even his home is safe because the Englishman rules his country. This fear of one's own neighbour is the root cause of India's slavery and at the same time the source of the strength of foreign domination. The moment Indians cast off this fear, no power on earth can keep 350 millions of fearless human beings in subjection.

Now, how to create this trust amongst the various communities forming the Indian nation has been the real problem before the Congress for the last two or three decades. Though it has not still succeeded, the Congress has from the beginning believed that not force but conciliation, not hatred but love, alone can create that trust which alone can unite the different communities in demanding freedom for their own country.

LOVE ALONE BEGETS TRUST.

Just as you cannot command respect, so also you cannot demand trust. You cannot coerce anybody to trust you. He must of his own accord trust you. Conciliation, love nobility—these are the qualities which alone beget trust. Mere intellectual argument also will not help much. The head may be with you but if the heart goes against you, tons of intellectual reasonings will leave the man cold.

What is true of the individual is also true of the group. Trust is the quality of the heart and the heart can be won by love alone. For love no sacrifice is too great. If we really love our country and want her to be free as other nations in the world, we must cheerfully sacrifice our all at the altar of our Motherland. The Hindus must not complain that the Mussalmans are demanding too much or must the Mussalmans grudge that the Hindus are asking for far more than they can ever give. The Hindus or the Mussalmans or the Parsis are the children of the same mother and, therefore, what one gets will benefit all others in the end.

Therefore, we all must take a vow on this auspicious day of the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress that we will all uphold its policy of destroying all distinctions such as Hindu or Mussalman, touchable or untouchable, superior or inferior in our public life. This alone, I sincerely believe, will create that strength in us which will give us freedom which we love more than our lives.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTS 1885 To 1934

Year.		Place	Name of the President.
1885		Bombay	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.
1886		Calcutta	„ Dadabhai Naoroji.
1887		Madras	„ Badruddin Tyabji.
1888		Allahabad	„ George Yule.
1889		Bombay	Sir William Wedderburn.
1890		Calcutta	Mr. P. M. Mehta.
1891		Nagpur	„ P. Ananda Charlu.
1892		Allahabad	„ W. C. Bonnerjee.
1893		Lahore	„ Dadabhai Naoroji.
1894		Madras	„ Alfred Webb.
1895		Poona	„ Surendra Nath Bannerjea.
1896		Calcutta	„ Rahimtoolah Sayani.
1897		Amraoti	„ C. Sankaran Nair.
1898		Madras	„ A. M. Bose.
1899		Lucknow	„ R. C. Dutt.
1900		Lahore	„ N. G. Chandavarkar.
1901		Calcutta	„ D. E. Wacha.
1902		Allahabad	„ Surendra Nath Bannerjea.
1903		Madras	„ Lal Mohan Ghose.
1904		Bombay	„ Sir Hendry Cotton.
1905		Benares	„ G. K. Gokhale.
1906		Calcutta	„ Dadabhai Naoroji.
1907		Surat	Dr. Rash Behary Ghose.
1908		Madras	„
1909		Lahore	Pandit M. M. Malaviya.
1910		Allahabad	Sir William Wedderburn.
1911		Calcutta	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar.
1912		Bankipur	Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
1913		Karachi	Nawab Syed Mahomed.
1914		Madras	Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu.
1915		Bombay.	Lord Sinha.
1916		Lucknow	Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar.
1917		Calcutta	Mrs. Annie Besant.
1918	(Special)	Bombay	Syed Hassan Imam.
1918		Delhi	Pandit M. M. Malaviya.
1919		Amritsar	Pandit Motilal Nehru.
1920	(Special)	Calcutta	Lala Lajpatrai.
1920		Nagpur	Mr. Vijayaraghava Chariar.
1921		Ahmedabad	„ C. R. Das (being in prison) Hakim Ajmal Khan presided.
1922		Gaya	„ C. R. Das.
1923	(Special)	Delhi	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
1923		Cocanada	Maulana Mohammad Ali.
1924		Belgaum	Mahatma Gandhi.
1925		Cawnpore	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
1926		Gauhati	Mr. Srinivas Iyengar.
1927		Madras	Dr. M. A. Ansari
1928		Calcutta	Pandit Motilal Nehru.
1929		Lahore	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
1931		Karachi	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
1932		Delhi	Seth Ranchhodlal.
1933		Calcutta	Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta.
1934		Bombay.	Babu Rajendra Prasad.

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The Congress Jubilee : And Why

The Miracle Wrought By Gandhiji

(By Shri Sri Prakasa, M.L.A.)

The history of the Congress may be roughly divided into two parts. In the first part, which covers a little more than 30 years of its life, the Congress was a small body consisting of English-educated people who from time to time at their leisure from the pursuits of their busy learned professions, assembled together and passed some resolutions indicative of their hope and aspiration. These resolutions in the very nature of things, dealt particularly with the interest of the educated classes that comprised the Congress. I mean no reflection on the great patriots that built up the Congress, when I say that situated as they were and with the limitations in which they worked, it was more or less natural for them to ask the higher public services to be opened to educated Indians; and most of their attention was rivetted to this question in one form or another, as they felt that Swaraj meant the Indianization of the public services, for that alone could teach us the art of Goveernment, and train us for the taking up of political responsibilities that were ultimately bound to come to us.

WHAT RAJEN BABU "MISSED."

The strange phenomenon then was that patriotism was measured not by what one did but what one talked, and the more difficut one's language, greater the patriot he was supposed to be. English was carefully cultivated and its biggest words extensively used and the most obscure references to European life and thought freely made which were difficult to understand except by those who knew the language and its literature very well indeed. Another phenomenon was that personal eminence was also regarded as a measure of patriotic service. Mr. Sachidanand Sinha, writing about Rajendra Prasad the other day said with a tinge of sorrow that his prophecy that our present President would one day be the President of the Congress and a High Court Judge was only half fulfilled because of the politics he later embraced giving up a lucrative career at the Bar. Mr. Sinha should also have added that besides the Presidentship of the Congress and a High Court Judgship, another incumbrance of the early patriot was a knighthood which also Rajendra Prasad missed by the skin of his teeth! I beg again that my words should not be taken as casting any reflection on the great men of the earlier generation. They worked according to their lights and worked the circumstances very different from those we have today, the difficulties of which we cannot fully realise.

HOW GANDHIJI CHANGED THE CONGRESS

This period was followed by the second stage which, whatever the background may be in the form of actual events, is characterized by having Mahatma Gandhi as its central figure. It seems that Gandhiji immediately saw that the Congress could never be really effective so long as it was confined to the educated classes and did not contain the vast masses of the people; and also that the masses are not likely to come till the Congress was speaking an alien tongue and concentrating on the interest of the educated classes, apparently indifferent to their interests under the leadership of strangely dressed individuals, through no lack of good-feeling but lack of personal touch and consequent ignorance of their requirements. It was under Gandhiji's strangely inspiring and fascinating leadership that the Congress suddenly changed its language and its clothes, embraced all classes of the population and instead of talking of the interest of the classes, it talked of the interest of the masses. From a small body confined to a particular class and having little hold on the people and little influence with Government, it became a vast body comprising all sorts and conditions of human beings and made itself almost a world force which had to be recognised by an otherwise heedless Government.

THE MIRACLE

Gandhiji seemed to have turned his back on everything that pertained to Government: titles and services instead of being the ideals to be aspired to, came to be regarded as evils to be shunned. The importance of cities and English education was dimmed before the greatness of the villages and their proper education for purposes of constructive endeavour. Leadership passed out into hands that would have been contemplated, if judged by the standards of the earlier generation. The message of Swaraj, the name of the Congress working for it and the inspiring figure of Gandhi were broadcast far and wide by devoted bands of workers who though mocked as 'six anna volunteers' by interested parties and derided at as embezzlers of public funds —performed their duties in a spirit of self-sacrifice and with a devotion hard to parallel, till there is scarcely a man, woman or child in this vast land of 35 crores of human beings with high mountains, deep jungles and vast deserts, who has not heard the three mystics words—Swaraj, Congress and Gandhi and there is scarcely a group of villages where the Gandhi cap is not seen on a few heads at least; the Congress flag does not flutter and the Swaraj slogan is not found on some lips.

REPLY TO CRITICS.

Let those who still ask for the accounts of the one crore of rupees collected in 1921 to which they themselves did not contribute, a pie, and who deliberately refuse to see the fat volumes of accounts published from time to time give us one and only one illustration, if they can, of this remarkable phenomenon that at the rate of less than two pice per head of public funds, this message has reached the people living in the inmost recesses of mountains and by the banks of the most lonely streams. Far more than one crore of rupees was spent for this purpose and all the money over this one crore was found by the workers themselves. Let those who laugh at us and deride us and pretend to be the custodians of public morals and public money, customer. The shoe-manufacturer makes standard sizes and without trouble he easily multiplies the numbers. He does not stop

(Continued on Page 95.)

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AHIMSA IN THE ECONOMIC WORLD

By Decentralisation Of Production All India Village Industries Association Hopes To Reduce Mal-Distribution Of Wealth And Consequent Cut-Throat Competition And Thereby To Take Away Basis For Violence

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

When two material things are rubbed together friction comes into play and generates heat. Similarly, divergent interests have to clash in order to produce Himsa. Conversely, if conflict of rival interests could be avoided we shall have non-violence in the passive sense. That is Ahimsa which is brought about by the absence of circumstances, which, if present, will result in Himsa. There is no credit claimed here for any virtue. It is just the natural result of the non-existence of certain causes. Even where there is friction, if heat is not generated by the exercise of higher qualities in man, we have Ahimsa in the active sense. Here circumstances are such as to produce violence but, by self-control and conquest over the natural order, Ahimsa is maintained; but for such superior power Himsa would have been generated. In the humdrum of everyday economic life it would be too much to expect the last form and it is passive non-violence that we shall have in mind in dealing with Ahimsa in the Economic World.

It does not require any high degree of perception to recognise the fact that to-day the economic atmosphere the world over is surcharged with violence. Nations are gnashing their teeth and snarling at each other under the cloak of armed neutrality in enjoying "peace". There is hidden hatred and enmity in every hand stretched out in "brotherhood." All talk of championing weak nations is motivated by selfishness, greed and avarice. Professions of a desire to civilize backward nations and to bring light and learning to those who sit in darkness are the excrescence of Imperialism. Our enquiry is to consider how these rivalries are caused and how they can be averted. This will show us the directions of economic activity and reason for violence and thus enable us to tackle the problem.

URGE OF HUNGER.

When we go below the human family to the birds and beasts we notice that movements of those dumb creatures are conditioned by search for food and hunger is the urge behind their labours. They reap where they sowed not; they consume without producing. Their ferocity is increased in the same ratio as the scarcity of food. Or, in economic language, if such could be used, the intensity of the demand causes violence as supply is limited and competition for that which is available is sharpened.

The position is not very different when we come to man in the nomadic stage. He, like the animal, is not able to increase supply to meet the demand but moves about from scarcity to plenty and any one who stands in his way falls a prey to his wrath. His production, if any, is very limited and his consumption is predatory, nature being generally the victim. The directive force which fashions his movements could again be said to be hunger in a larger sense, i.e., his very elementary and savage needs. He also finds his demands are not always met by nature and when this is so, there is competition and violence.

From this we pass on to the agriculturist who, for the first time, tries to equate supply with demand by aiding nature, i.e., by his production. Thus he is able to control supply. He is able to meet even his greater needs in the shape of food, clothing and shelter. He produces what he needs and consumes to his satisfaction. In this stage, as the diversity between demand and supply is not great, competition is curbed. There is no unwholesome pressure to increase consumption artificially and hence the generation of violence is lessened. Under this state supply follows demand and the production is to order, i.e., definitely directed towards satisfying an existing need. We may call it a "bespoken economic order." A man needs a shoe and it is made to fit his particular feet and their shape. Only in this case can the demand be fully satiated. The ability or the ingenuity of the producer expands with the exacting nature of the demand and leads to development of the skill and personality of the producer and contributes to the culture of the age. As long as the producer rises equal to the demand and satisfies it there is no room for violence. Everyone eats of his vine, and of his fig tree and drinks the waters of his cistern and there is peace in the land. The idea of Private property in land and cattle develops side by side with leisure and culture.

Leaving this idyllic pictures we come on now to the giddy life of the machine age. The nomad's dependence on nature is forgotten. The agriculturist attempt to supplement nature is carried to the extreme and man celebrates his "conquest" over nature. Nature's forces are harnessed to serve man. Various devices to aid man in his activities have been invented but here again he has overreached himself and the machine that was intended to be a servant finds itself the master, thus reducing the bulk of mankind to abject slavery by its needs. Supply has made larger strides than demand. In the earlier stages the struggle was to increase the supply, now overproduction loudly calls for an increase in demand. Machinery spells standardisation and large scale production. Even this does not meet the demand correctly. A man wants a pair of shoes in Bombay. He goes into a shop and he is presented with large numbers of footwear made in Northampton by a shoemaker who had never set eyes on the

(Continued on Page 42)

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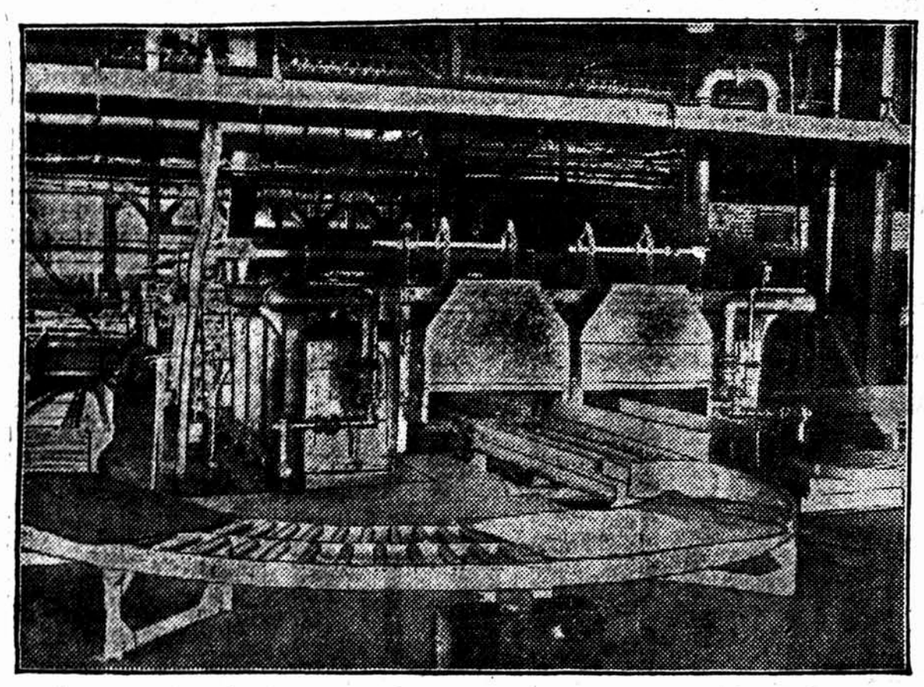

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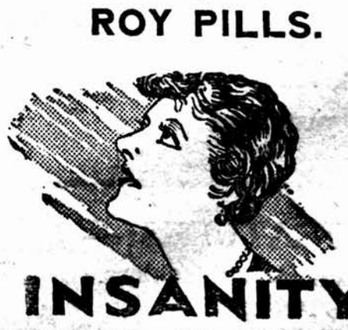

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Ahimsa In Economic World

(Continued from Page 40)

to wait for orders. Like Pat-a-cake the Bakers man, he makes them as fast as he can and ships them to various parts of the world for sale. The supply comes into existence without knowing the demand and then it seeks out the demand. Again, in an industry like the steel industry, powerful vested interests influence the Government to find outlets for their products. The Government seek out "backward" peoples and build railways and bridges for them while the children of these "backward" peoples are starving physically and mentally. All these standardised products can be turned out in large quantities without much extra cost and so markets have to be found for these supplies. This state of things naturally leads to violence. Still worse is the case of the manufacturer of armaments, who is obviously interested in nurturing belligerent conditions which make for boom period in his business. Violence is the very essence of his success. In the past, directive forces which stimulated economic activity were natural hunger of the savage and the nomad and the discomforts of the sensitive body of the agriculturist. These were nature's urge or goad. But now we have artificially to increase demand by habits cultivated by imitation or custom so that the excess of production may be absorbed. Food, clothing and shelter were nature's demand, but tobacco, lipstick, rouge and face-powder are examples of demand cultivated by imitation and custom. In many cases even if the consumer is indifferent, the producer, by modern methods of advertisement and other means of propaganda, persuades the public to use that which has no utility and makes business for himself and sells his goods.

Thus we notice that the forces that directed economic activity have shifted from making good shortage of supply to meeting shortage of demand or, in other words, over-production.

This last situation has created a complexity of circumstances. To dispose of the excess production markets have to be found. Competition has assumed a keenness never before known. To increase the consumers, i.e., the demand—it was necessary to complicate the lives of simple folks—"Civilize" them. The eagerness to capture markets and "civilize" backward peoples has led to jealousies between industrialised nations and resistance among the victims and in both cases it has led to armaments and violence on a scale in keeping with large scale production—the root of the trouble. In this turmoil there can be no room for real culture as all energies are concentrated in either feeding violence or in combating it.

A study of history teaches us that, when a people's demand is too difficult of satisfaction, their culture and civilization dies. This situation may arise either by their inability to produce as in the case of the Red Indians of America, or in the degeneration of the race, as is seen in the downfall of every great empire. In the latter case, supply is increased by booty, and the exploitation of captured races as slaves, actually or constructively. To consume such wealth the standards of life are artificially increased. Consumption takes place without production. Before long such a civilization will collapse as it has no back-bone. Predatory consumption is not conducive to growth but undermines the stamina of the people. A nation can flourish only as long as its demand can be met by its productivity. When there is not much disparity between demand and supply the China and Egypt have to look nation advances culturally. India, back to their days of agricultural civilization for the hey-day of their cultures. In the West, the Industrial age produced a transitory culture during the midvictorian era, but it was not long before the supply went far ahead of the demand and steeped the world in that barbarism and despair wherein we find ourselves to-day. Indeed, we can boast of knowledge and the advance of Science, but that is not true culture. The pressure of life to-day is not conducive thereto. There is no true leisure. We have to equate our supply and demand, but not artificially. Until we are able to do this, violence will stalk the land. At present we are in a state of unstable equilibrium and our "civilization," such as it is, will topple over any moment.

What then are the correctives we have to apply? We must inevitably check the artificial creation of demand. This cuts at the root of all imperialism. People have to evolve their own culture after their own fashion without any attempt on the part of the outsider to "bring civilization to backward peoples." Avarice, as a motive for production, has to be curbed and the extent of each person's economic activity has to be limited to his capacity, so that the weaker members are not exploited. Under Capitalism, profit motive is allowed free play, without regard to any other consideration. Goods are produced for immediate gain and in a manner which gleans the profits into a few pockets only. This leads to a shortage of necessaries, over production of luxuries and mal-distribution of wealth, while the masses are reduced to undernourished machine feeders. This state of affairs has generated class consciousness resulting in the conflict of capital and Labour. On the other hand, Soviet Communism has given up the profit motive, but has intensified class hatred. The workers have little initiative which is a pre-requisite for the formation of any culture. We should not aim at producing a Rabot, but a man with all his inconsistencies and incongruities. Material advancement is nothing when it is obtained at the cost of the individuals' personality.

In both Capitalism and Communism we find room and the need for violence and a great concentration of power in few hands. Because of these failures in an attempt to establish a healthy equilibrium between supply and demand, we are led to advocate individual units of production rather than collective units. This adjustment in itself will reduce the excess of supplies. The markets should be localised had only the surplus, after satisfying local needs, ought to find distant markets.

The present economic system is like the old time steamers which could be sunk by springing one hole in the hull, but the modern methods of having watertight compartment saves the whole ship even if a part were damaged. Similarly, when overproduction and the market are not centralised the dangers of the system, as a whole, coming to grief are few. In such a decentralised system the danger of violence is minimised.

It is this purpose that is the background against which the All-India Village Industries Association was started under a resolution passed at the last Congress. By encouraging decentralisation of production, we hope to reduce the mal-distribution of wealth, develop the personality of the villagers and release their inborn talents for the good of humanity. If we succeed in this, jealousy, cut throat competition and voracious search for markets will cease, thus taking away the basis for violence amongst nations, and ushering in peace and goodwill among men.

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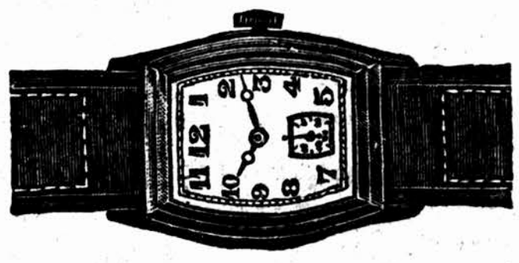

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Congress And The States People

Artificial Distinction Between People Of British In dia And Indian States Must Be Given Up And Congress Should Unequivocally Declare Itself Morally Bound To Carry On Political As Well As Constructive Work In States As Its Resources Will Permit

(By MANISHANKER TRIVEDI, B.A.)

General Secretary, The Indian States People's Conference).

The Congress policy towards the States has become the subject of great interest both among the Congress circles and the States' people. The conception of the people of the Indian States is that the Indian Nation, whether it lives in British India or Indian States, is one and indivisible whole; that the national fight for freedom must be carried on by the combined forces of the people in British India and the Indian States and that the object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Purna Swaraj for the people of India as a whole.

Congress Committees can be formed in the States wherever circumstances permit and under the Congress Constitution these Committees enjoy the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by similar Committees in British India.

Calcutta Resolution

The Congress has further assured the States' People in its Calcutta Session in 1928 of "Its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States". It has reiterated this pledge in the meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Jubbulpore.

The recent controversy about the interpretation of the Congress policy towards the States must be judged from the above conception cherished by the States' people and from the above resolutions passed by the Congress.

The first point on which some difference of views exists in the interpretation of the Congress policy is about the extent to which the Congress can and should exert itself to implement its resolutions extending its sympathy with and support in the States' people's struggle for securing full responsible government in the States.

Surely the word "support" was used in the Congress resolution with a view to widening and amplifying the meaning of the preceding wofk "sympathy". It is evidently meant to connote not merely a passive feeling of commiseration with the States' people in their sufferings or an intellectual agreement with their aims, but active participation, close cooperation and intimate collaboration in their movements. The main idea behind extending such active support is evidently to nourish and strengthen every limb of the body politic of India as a whole. "The whole coach would stand still should one horse lag behind". The Congress must, therefore, do its utmost "to see that the team moves forward steadily and evenly". The Congress has a duty to perform to the whole team and not to one of the two horses; and the nature of its duty is the same towards one horse as towards the other.

States' People's Demand

Thus the States' people would like the Congress to declare in unequivocal terms:—

(a) That it considers itself free juridically to carry on active political work in the States.

(b) That it holds itself morally bound to carry on such political as well as constructive work in the States as its resources will permit, without any artificial distinction between the people of British India and the Indian States.

(c) That it will instruct all its organisations to make all possible efforts to implement the resolution passed at its Calcutta Sessions and not to recognise any other limitations upon extending their active support to the States' people in their provinces than those of their resources.

(d) That it will criticise the system of personal rule prevailing in the States, protest against arbitrary encroachments on the elementary rights of citizenship occuring in the States, and will use its good offices whenever and wherever possible to help the States' people in attaining their object.

Certainly the States' people fully realise the present limitations of the Congress in these matters. They further recognise that they should hold themselves as local people primarily responsible for conducting their movement in the States, as indeed the local people in any province of British India would primarily be responsible for conducting these movements in their respective local areas. The Congress has limited resources whether in British India or Indian States and all that any one can rightfully expect of it is that it shall support a legitimate movement initiated in any part of India with such resources as it may command at the moment. But the States' people urge that no other limitation should be pleaded as an excuse for inactivity on the part of the Congress in the States.

Their Position Under New Constitution

The second point on which the States' people are anxious to secure an unambiguous assurance from the Congress is about their legitimate rights and proper position in any new constitution for India as a whole that may be accepted by the Congress.

It is true that the Congress as a body has condemned and rejected the new Federal Constitution. However a close study of the process of condemnation in-as-much as it has been almost invariably confined to the provisions affecting British India alone, has given the States' people legitimate ground for the impression that perhaps the most dangerous and arbitrary features of the Federal Constitution such as nomination of the States' representatives in the Federal legislature are not matters to which the Congress takes any serious objection. On the other hand, since Mahatmaji's speech at the R. T. C. declaring to the effect that the Congress will not be satisfied with any constitution which did not provide fundamental rights of citizenship for the States' people and also their right of representation on the Federal legislature, the Congress has neither in its open session nor in its Committee meetings thought it necessary to support these just demands nor it has assured the States' people that they will be given representation on the same basis as the people of British India in the Constituent Assembly when it comes to be formed for the purpose of determining a constitution for India as a whole. On the contrary and to the great surprise of the States' people, an amendment satisfying the requirements of the States' peoples' cause that was moved in the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Madras was defeated by the force of personal appeal of the Congress commands.

The States' people expect the premier national organization like the Congress to decide these questions in the light of its avowed democratic principles and to refuse to consider or think of them either in terms of the British Law or of the findings of the Indian States' Committee or of the opinion of the legal advisers of the Princes.

The Congress should assure the people in the States that they will be given representation on the same basis as the people of British India in the proposed Constituent Assembly.

Their Minimum Requirements

The Congress should further adopt the following minimum requirements of the States' peoples' cause as its own in respect of any Federal Constitution acceptable to it:—

(1) Federal citizenship and fundamental rights for the people of the States to be embodied in the new constitution.

(2) Federal junicial machinery to be provided in the constitution to protect the fundamental rights of the people of the States.

(3) Direct representation of the people of States in Central Legislatures by the same system of election and power of voting as may prevail at the time for the people of British India.

The declaration of such policy on behalf of the Congress at this juncture will, besides assigning their rightful place to the States' people in the body politic of India as a whole, accelerate the speed of their political awakening.

The States' people trust that the above issues will be satisfactorily decided at the Lucknow sessions of the Congress and that the anxieties of eight crores of people in the States in this respect will be once for all dispelled and all the forces of the Indian Nation will thus be properly consolidated and that the true spirit of oneness and indivisibility of our common Motherland shall reign supreme in the heart of every Indian whether he happens to live in British India or in the Indian States.

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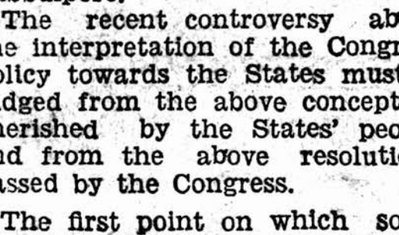

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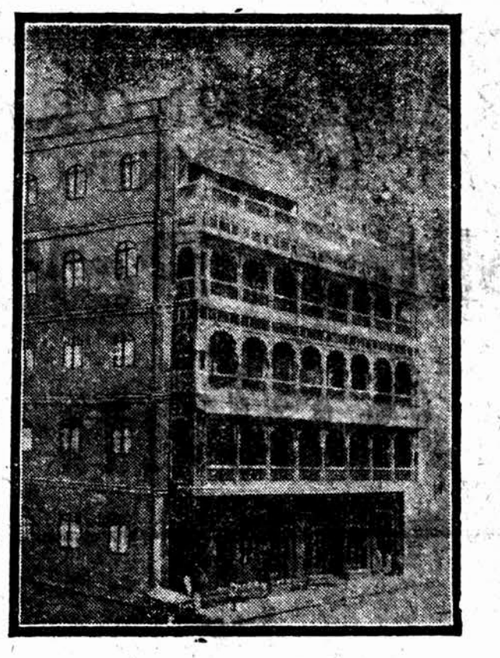

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MAKERS OF MODERN INDIA

History Of Congress Is History Of India's Political Progress

(BY B. F. BHARUCHA).

Shades of Hume and Bonnerjee; Dadabhai and Bannerjea; Yule and Wedderburn; Mehta and Cotton; Tilak and Gokhale; Haq and Nehru; Lalaji and Das; Shradhanandji and Sen Gupta!

Hail Congress!

Hail its Golden Jubilee!

Hail, Gandhiji!

Hail, Swaraj!

India, the Home of Rishis, the sanctuary of spiritualists, the rendezvous of Philosophers; the centre of artists and artisans; the battlefield of Warriors; and the training ground for Administrators, alas, slipped into foreign hands!

Birth Of Congress

It was against this foreign domination, that minds of eminent men had turned fifty years ago. They began with Petitions and Memorials, Resolutions and Protests; and in their early stages, they had the sympathy and support of the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and of non-officials like Yule, Cotton and Wedderburn. Hume was, verily, the Father of the movement, stoutly supported by Dadabhai and Bonnerjee.

Growth Of Congress

As years rolled on, the Congress grew in power, position and prestige. It arrested the attention of the people, and captured the imagination of the Intelligentsia. As the movement spread far and wide, it encountered the opposition of the Bureaucracy.

Repression And Suppression

Then began a policy of repression and suppression, and incarceration of leaders, first in Bengal, then in the Deccan; thereafter in the Punjab, and finally all over India! This led to the Stayagraha and Civil Disobedience movements, which, at one time threatened the very existence of the bureaucratic rule in India!

India Wide Awake !

Whatever arm-chair critics may say; whatever short-sighted scribes may write; whatever interested politicians may decry; there is the unassailable evidence of nation-wide awakening; a yearning for Freedom; a desire for Home Rule; and a steady determination to attain it by all legitimate means; and not to rest, till it is fully gained.

(1) It was Dadabhai, who gave us the Mantra of Swaraj.

(2) It was Phirozeshah Mehta, who preached and practised defiance to autocracy in India.

(3) It was Surrendra Nath Bannerjea, who courted jail in Bengal for Freedom of speech.

(4) It was Lokmanya, who faced it in Bombay for the Freedom of the Press.

(5) It was Lalaji, who was exiled from the Punjab, for his struggle for Freedom.

(6) So was Horniman from Bombay.

(7) So were the Ali Brothers incarcerated in Chindwada and Karachi.

(8) And similarly, were Mahatmaji, Punditji, the Nehrus, Das, Mrs. Naidu, Sen Gupta, Subash Bose, Patel Brothers, Nariman, Perin Ben, Kamladevi, Rajaji, Bajaj, Rajen Babu, the Great Mazarul Huq, the Frontier Gandhi, Brelvi and thousands of India's sons and daughters were repeatedly sent to jail for their struggle for India's Freedom! What a splendid record of sacrifice at the Altar of Hind Mata!

India's Political Progress

Verily, it has been so rapid and remarkable during the last 15 years, that the Retired I. C. S.'s, who re-visit India, plainly admit, that India is fast changing. She is leaving her slumber and lethargy. She is wide awake and kicking. And though she appears to be quieted down, there is the fire smouldering underneath; and at a given moment, it will burst into flame, and regain her Freedom. That day is not distant—Heaven helping.

SHE WILL COME BACK TO LIFE!

Dead Woman Expected To Live Again

Members of a strange cult isolated from modern civilisation on the arid slopes of the mountains of Utah—America's Mormon State are awaiting the resurrection of Miss Edith Pashal, who died ten months ago of old age.

Mrs. Marie Ogden, leader of the group, which is called the Home of Truth, stated that the recreation of Miss Pashal is imminent.

"Miss Pashal's unburied body is daily washed with salt water," she said.

"It lies in a closely guarded building, and only members of our sect are allowed to watch the re-creation in process.

"I cannot say when she will come back. Her return to full life must be gradual, as was her disintegration.

"I am always conscious of a living presence in her dead body.

"I speak with her almost daily, of course in soul language; but she will be fully alive again any day now."—"Sunday Express."

LESSONS OF HISTORY

Let the Bureaucracy in India note:—

(1) That the days of Imperialism are numbered.

(2) That Willingdonism will not hold the field long.

(3) The tide of Nationalism is fast rising in India.

(4) No Dyer or O'Dwyer; no Johnson or Thompson; no Reading or Willingdon; no MacDonald or Simon, can stem it long.

(5) Before the Jubilee year is over, India will be on the Road to Freedom.

(6) And before the Diamond Jubilee of the Congress, India will be a Free Country.

God bless India!

Long live Congress!

God-speed, Gandhiji!

Silver Jubilee Year

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Congress Control Of Provincial Governments

(Continued from Page 37)

more on the side of the outcaste and the disinherited, the sympathies of these classes might also veer on the Nationalist side; and so it would be safe to assume that 10 of these seats would be captured at least by the Congress candidates of these castes.

But the same forces which would incline the indigent and the outcaste to side with the Congress would alienate the affluent and the privileged; so that we may rule out the Landholders' candidates and even the Merchants or Industrialists from that side. No doubt the Indian mercantile community pronounced itself in favour of the Congress during the last elections; but, at that time, the opponent was a candidate who had sold his national heritage for a mess of pottage and against whom commercial jealousy could be effectively mobilised. with the growing trend of the Congress towards the Left, the merchants and industrial class must necessarily fall off; and the Congress tactician would be making a grave mistake, if he reckons upon the candidates of these privileged classes to vote on their side a minute longer than it is necessary to oust the foreign rival and alien bureaucrat.

Indian Christians may show a divided loyalty, and we may reckon half the number at most from that category as falling to the Congress Party. Europeans and Anglo-Indians may, however, be assumed to be hostile, at least in the first years of the new Constitution; and though Labour as well as women, may be deemed to be sympathetic to the Congress ideals, it would be rash to hold all Labour seats and all women to be of Congress persuasion. Half of these seats on Congress side would be a fair quota from these categories

Substantial Majority May Be Expected

Hence, the aggregate Congress strength, in the Madras Assembly, may be reckoned as:—

General, Unreserved	..	100
General, Reserved	..	15
Mussalmans	..	8
Labour	..	3
Women	..	4
Indian Christians	..	4
University (?)	..	1
Total	..	135

The balance of 80 seats may not necessarily be hostile all; but as Party lines take more and more concrete shape, and follow the cleavage of material interests, we may take it that these other will diverge more and more from Congress, or Leftist, policies. 135 out of a total of 215 is, however, a substantial majority; and if the Congress Party is well organised and disciplined; and if it consists of competent, well-informed, well-disciplined and resolute candidates, there is reason to believe that, in Madras, they may dictate to Government, form a compact Ministry of their own; and shape the Provincial policy within the limits open under the new Constitution to the Provincial Governments.

Upper Chamber

The Legislative Council would consist of 54-56 seats, of which not more than 10 and not less than 8 may be nominated by the Governor, 35 elected from the General Constituencies, 7 by the Mussalmans, 3 Indian Christians, and 1 by the Europeans. The Council would, normally speaking, be a reactionary body, out of sympathy with the more advanced ideals and policies of a really popular organisation like the Congress. We cannot, accordingly, expect the same proportion of Congress seats in the Madras Upper Chamber, as we may in the Lower; and it may even be doubted if the Council would offer a bare majority to members of the Congress persuasion. In view of the large margin of Legislative and supervisory powers given under the Act to the Upper House, there is a danger of the will of the Lower Chamber being negatived in all matters of real importance. It is consideration like this, which inclines many a thoughtful person to reject out of hand such a Constitution; for under it, Indian Legislators will have little power to do any real service to the country; but innumerable opportunities to thwart the will, or obstruct the measures desired by the people.

Poor Chances In Bombay

We have traced at length the position in Madras, because it offers the best chance for the Nationalist ascendancy—next, perhaps after Bihar. In Bombay, for example, out of 175 seats.

General, Unreserved Constituencies would elect	..	99
General Reserved Constituencies of Scheduled Castes		15
Mussulmans	..	29
Anglo-Indians	..	2
Europeans	..	3
Indian Christians	..	3
Commerce, Industry, Mining and Planting	..	7
Labour	..	7
Landholders	..	2
Backward Tribes and Areas	..	1
Women (General 5, Muhammedan 1)	..	6
University	..	1

Judging from the experience of the last Municipal Elections in Bombay City, as also from that of the Assembly Elections last year; and bearing in mind the much more emphasised divergence between the Capitalist and the Proletarian position in this industrial and commercial province, as also the composition of the population in the several Divisions of the Presidency, it is not likely that the Congress candidates would capture more than 75 per cent of the General seats, including women and rsserved or Scheduled Castes. At most these would aggregate 80 seats, if even so many.

Of the other communal and special seats, Congress can not expect more than 10 to be always and implicitly with them, since Labour would be tending more and more towards Left extreme which will find little favour with official Congress representatives; while Capitalist representatives of Commerce, Indusry, Land or particular communities, would always leean towards the forces of authority. Parsi, Christian, European, Anglo-Indian and most of the Muhammadan representatives would be actively opposed, as things stand to-day, to Congress tactics; so that, in Bombay, it does not seem very hopeful for the Congress candidates, so far as forming an absolute, homogenous Ministry is concerned. Their trump card would, accordingly, lie in refusing to take office, even if they have a nominal majority; and so influence, from without and by critical opposition, the Presidency policy in a greater measure than they would be able to do, if once they assume responsibility of Government. The Bombay Upper Chamber would, very likely, be even more reactionary than the Madras specimen, and so that would make one more consideration against the formation of an official nationalist or Congress Government in the Western Presidency.

BENGAL MAY DISAPPOINT

In Bengal, there are, out of 250, only 78 General seats, including 30 reserved for Scheduled Castes. Of the remainder the 117 Mussulmans, 3 Anglo-Indians, 11 Europeans. 2 Indian Christians, 5 Landholders, and 19 representatives of Commerce and Industry, Congress cannot capture, in all probability more than one-fourth, if even so many. With half the General seats (39) and one-fourth of these others (39) Congress cannot have over 78 or 80 seats, in a House of 250. And if we include the Labour representatives as being mainly of Congress persuasion in Bengal, 85 seems to be the limit in Bengal for the Congress ranks. The remaining 165 will, of course, not be homogenious; but would have more sympathy and even identity of interests "inter se" than with the Congress.

A Nationalist, or Congress, Government seems impossible in the Eastern Presidency, except with co-operation of the Mussulman Members; and, as things stand to-day, the majority of the Mussulmans can scarcely be expected to adopt the Congress badge, even if they accept the essentials of the Congress policy. What applies to the Lower House applies even more forcibly to the Upper Chamber; and so in Bengal, the hope of a Congress Ministry, in the first years of the new Constitution, must be abandoned.

CONGRESS MAJORITY

In the United Provinces, out or a total of 228 seats.

120 are General, unreserved Seats;
20 are General Reserved Seats for Scheduled Castes;
64 are Muhammad Seats;
2 are European Seats;
2 are Indian Christians Seats;
1 are Anglo-Indians.
3 are Commerce, Industry, &c.
3 are Labour;
6 are Landholders;
6 are Women;
1 are University.

Judging, again, from the experience of the Assembly elections, it seems very likely that in the United Province, the General Constituencies, Labour and even Landholders, would return an overwhelming Congress majority; while even Mussulmans would send a fair proportion of that complexion. Altogether a Congress majority of 30 to 50 ought not to be a surprising feature in the U. P. Assembly; and the Legislative Council would more or less reflect a similar Provincial sentiment.

COMMUNAL PUNJAB

In the Punjab, as in Bengal, the General Constituencies are in a clear minority. Even with the aid of the Sikhs, the Punjab Assembly cannot have more than 75, out of a total of 175, seats iin the Congress hands. The Mussulmans are in a definite majority; and even if a portion of them adopt the Congress persuasion, there is little hope of converting the Congress minority into a majority. In proportion, moreover, as the Congress become more and more a Leftist organisation, the larger Landlords and Capitalists from amongst all the three communities would drift away from the Congress; and so the Punjab may be ruled as a non-Congress Government, in all probability.

BIHAR WILL STAND BY CONGRESS

The 152 seats in the Bihar Council may, however, provide a substantial majority for the Congress, in spite of the considerable representation of Commerce, Industry and Landholding interest. The Mussulmans in this Province also show a greater loyalty to the Nationalist creed, than perhaps in other provinces; and so Bihar may join Madras and the United Provinces in affording a handsome and permanent Congress majority. The Upper Chamber will be, likewise, of a similar character, though not to the same extent and Government in that Province may safely be made out of Congress followers, if they decide to accept office.

The Central Provinces would repeat the same tale,—only in a more pronounced degree. Out of 112 total seats, it is not impossible to capture in that Province over 80; and perhaps 90, for the Congress, all constituencies taken together.

NEW PROVINVCES

Assam, Orissa, Sind and the N. W. F. Provinces are smaller units; But in at least 2 out of these 4,—Assam and Orissa—there is more than a sporting chance for a fair Congress majority. And if, on separation, the Sind Mussulmans adopt a Nationalist brand,—and there is no reason why they should not, after they have been separated into an independent Province,—there, too, the Government may be of Congress complexion.

On a careful review, therefore, of all the available data, it seems likely that at least 4 of the Major Provinces—Madras, U. P., Bihar and C. P.—will have a clear Congress majority; that Bombay may also have a working majority, though the chances there are not over-rosy; that the Punjab and Bengal would be definitely anti-Congress, or at least with Congress in minority; and that Assam or Orissa, among the smaller Provinces, may show a Congress majority. With such a strength in the Provinces, the Congress may have a good chance off a majority in the Federall Assembly,—at least so far as the Provincial representatives are concerned. But, given the principle of Proportional Voting, and the presence of the States representatives, it is not very likely that the Congress would command in the Assembly of the nation a definite and permanent majority, at least at the first Elections.

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Liquidate Disruptive Tendencies

Let Strict Discipline And Blind Submission Be Your Best Jubilee Gift

(By K. F. Nariman)

Most of the articles on this festive and auspicious occasion will deal with the previous history and career of this great National Institution and I will not tread the same grounds; though this past history may be instructive, interesting, commendable and untarnished, still, even on a happy occasion like this, it would be more profitable and useful to cast a distant glance at the future and to turn search and flash light a little inwards so as to enable us to make a brief and even superficial survey of the present position from within the walls of this old National Political Castle with a view to repair and strengthen the stronghold for future fights.

Solid Steel-wall

No political institution can sustain and survive long, merely on its past records and achievements, howsoever great and glorified they may be; it must be continuously nourished on new activities and achievements. If the Indian National Congress has attained a proud privileged and unassailable premier political status and position in the country, if it is dreaded by the "enemies", respected by sympathisers and loved and revered by its devotees and followers, it is because it has so far maintained its solidarity, internal unity, perfect discipline, very high standard of disinterested, selfless and patriotic public service and, above all, commendable noble team-spirit, which has suppressed all personal considerations and inclinations, for the success of larger interests of the parent organisation and for the general advancement of the cause it espouses

With these high traits, sterling quantities and patriotic virtues, this Insitution has been able to stand like a solid impregrable rock, withstanding and resisting all hostile external attacks and weathering all internal storms; in the face of a common danger, all comrades "fall in" arm-in-arm and shoulder-to shoulder, and form an impregnable unassailable steel-wall. So far, that broad-based nationalism and genuine patriotism has been the secret of its success and power and has drawn admiration and praise both from friends and foes alike. That spirit has been its best safe-guard in the past and will be its surest guarantee for the future.

Deplorable Tendencies

But we have to confess, both with shame and regret, that of late, narrow-minded pettishness and petty-minded selfishness, and in some cases a spirit of defiance and rebellion, has deplorably crept in, in several Provincial organisations, resulting in discreditable and disgraceful quarrels and squabbles, mostly of a personal nature, an unedifying and undignified scramble for places and offices and a place-hunting race amongst Congressmen, such as we have often been witnessing, ridiculing and condemning amongst the loyalists, exploiting loyalty-sentiments To a certain extent, higher aspirations and ambitions, particularly in free voluntary service, and desire to attain higher position in the Congress, are not only excusable, but even desirable and commendable, but these Congress aspirants and enthusiasts, must know where and when to stop; whatever their personal ideas, schemes, policies, programmes or ambitions, they would be perfectly justified in making all efforts towards their attainment upto the point of final voting and decisions, but as soon as the majority decides, one way or another, it automatically and immediately becomes the mandate of the parent and superior body and there all controversies and individual or minority group efforts must cease.

Majority Must Prevail

Absolute and unflinching submission to the majority verdict, regardless of personal likes or dislikes, is the very essence of all democratic, particularly politcal, organisations, and any laxity or looseness in that universal accepted rule and maxim, is bound to lead to disintegration and ultimate delay. The whole superstructure of the Institution is based and rests upon this foundation of voluntary and implicit submission to majority verdict, and once a breach is allowed in that maxim, a democratic organisation, howsoever powerful, potential and rsourceful, is bound to collapse; it is an internal process of self-destruction and self-annihilation, much more dangerous and effective than all the external aggressive acts and measures of repression and suppression.

Unfortunately it must be confessed, even with a heavy heart, that this dangerous, mischievous and rebellious tendency to disregard and defy Congress mandates, is growing and spreading even amongst tried, experienced and trusted Congressmen, and unless that is nipped in the bud and Congress authority is fully unexceptionally and unequivocally asserted in all matters and against all individuals, no matter how high-placed and influential, it may lead to disastrous results.

Bolsheviks' Example

Every political party in the world, worth the name, has demanded and extorted unflinching loyalty and strictest discipline even from the greatest of its leaders. Party above all individuals has been its motto. In the Bolshevik Party in Russia, Trotskey stood next to Lenin alone, in his contribution, service and sacrifice for the cause; after Lenin, he was the undoubted leader of the Party and first national hero in the country; still he was banished from the land he had redeemed and expelled from the Party he had built up, because he displayed tendencies of revolt against the majority verdict, and to-day, Trortskey suffers a cruel exile, like a political vagrant, knocking about from country to country, without a fixed or secure habitation or home, whereas, in the ordinary course, he was expected to step in Lenin's shoes and become the first citizen and dictator of Russia.

It is this iron discipline from within that has given all the solidarity, strength and power to the Bolshevik Party, to flourish and survive in spite of tremendous difficulties at home and almost insurmountable obstacles and opposition from abroad. That blind, indisciminating discipline recognises or respects no group, howsoever powerful, no personality, howsoever great and apparenaly indispensable, and the maxim 'that party is above all,' including the greatest personality, is strictly adhered to and followed.

Sun-Yat-Sen's Sacrifice

Recent histories of China and Ireland furnish noble examples of sacrifice of personal ambitions and individual rights to advance the larger national cause and to secure unity. Sun-yat-sen, the father and founder of Chinese Republic, though the most deserving candidate and rightful aspirant and claimant to the much coveted place of First Presidentship of newly established Chinese Republic, still he volutarily abdicated his undoubted claim and allowed his rival Yuan-shi-Kai to be elected, with a view to satisfy the Northern half of China and secure national unity in the country. It was a noble example, not only of generosity and broad-mindedness towards a rival, but also of personal self-sacrifice and devotional patriotism of a very high order. Similarly, more recently in Ireland, Griffiths, the more senior and rightful claimant to Presidentship of the First Irish Dail, voluntarily stepped aside to make room for his junior and rival De Valera and thus prevented a serious split amongst the Sein Feins, at a most critical juncture.

K. F. NARIMAN.

Best Jubilee Gift

It is rightly said that of all the sacrifices that a public worker is called upon to make during his career, the greatest is the sacrifice of his personal opinion and inclination or his interests and ambitions and voluntary and implicit submission to the will of the majority mandate. It is this sacrifice that the Indian National Congress needs most at this critical juncture, and no better Jubilee gift could be offered or presented to our pet National organisation by its votories, on this auspicious and felicitous occasion, than this voluntary and implicit homage. this determination to submit to its future mandates and thus maintain its solidarity, position, prestige, dignity anw power at all costs if individual leader or leaders or particular group or supposed eliques are not upto the Congress mark and are found wanting in high standard of public service and duty that Congress demands or for any other reasons are found to be unsatisfactory, then certainty, remove them by all means and methods that the Congress Constitution provides, without in any way impairing or damaging the Congress authority, dignity or solidarity.

In face of the gathering strength of the opponents of Congress, who are openly and secretly conspiring and consolidating with a view to pull down this only national organisation, this only popular 'Fortress' from its high pedestal, we call upon, and appear **to, every Congressman in all parts of the country worth the salt, in the name of Congress Jubilee, to sink all past petty personal and undignified and unedifying differences, quarrels and squabbles, and close up their ranks, so that with the 51st year of the Congress a New Era may commence, an Era of success, prosperity, unity and above all of the ultimate achievement of our goal. 'Swaraj' is our Birth Right and Congress shall achieve it.**

Long Live Congress.
Vande Mataram.

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A Synthesis Of Indian Nationalism

Congress Programme Aims At Happy Reconciliation Between Old And New

(By Dr. B. Pattabhisitaramayya).

We are wont to classify the various civilizations of the world as ancient and modern. But they are not of two organically different types. Not that there are not differences between the two groups in structure and function but that there is nothing "modern" which has not in it certain elements of the "ancient" and nothing "ancient" either, which has not reacted to the impact of the "modern." Who can divide up the waters in the bed of a river into those which are of the freshes of the year and those which were of the year previous and have escaped their absorption into the ocean? And what if they were so absorbed for the clouds in the heavens do not bring us our rains from Mars or Jupiter? They only reach us back the vapors of an earlier season which they had taken away from river and sea.

So are the modern elements of civilizations. They have not sprung anew from a void of thought or a vacuum of sentiment. They are but the permutations and combinations of accepted values, social, economical and ethical, which gain or lose in emphasis with the changing epochs of eternity. Ideas and ideals which are hoary with age and sanctified by time are spurned as fantastic when conditions change. The principles on which the social structure was erected thousands of years ago, have necessarily to undergo mutation as contacts are established between communities and nations which, at the time of their origin, knew not one another.

NEW NAMES FOR OLD.

We witness thus the re-incarnation of Ceasar in Mussolini in Italy, the revivification of Erin after seven centuries of subjection, the reunion of the fragmented components of Italy, and the planting to-day of the ideals of "Kritha Yuga" of the "Ithihasas," in the semi-Orienti and semi-Occidental nations of Russia. Only we give new names and adopt new terminology. Emperors are known as Dictators, Confederacies are evolved into Federations and "Kritha Yuga" becomes the Soviet. The cyclical renewals of nomenclature and phraseology do not merely involve a bare repetition of effete formulae or exploded theories but cover a certain adaptation of the old laws and institutions to the new times, and the process passes under the soft and unexciting name of evolution. Not often, however does the history of every age and every clime exhibit the play of forces which are less unoffending and more obtrusive and which, by common consent, bring about Revolutions.

Great Revolutions in the past as well as the present have been the result of violence and it has been left to Hindusthan and to the Indian National Congress to work out a new scheme of national upheaval, not by the time-honoured and traditional methods of physical force exercised in a brutal fashion, but by the gentle application of methods which are not less forceful nor less effective,—methods wedded to Truth and Non-violence.

TRUE MISSION OF CONGRESS.

The Congress has thus worked its way to the position of not merely a party, addressing itself to elections and capture of power, but to that of a world-instrument of Reform aiming t complete destruction of the auto-infectious virus of brute force, vengeance and warfare, and the installation on the throne of power of the arbitrament of peace and goodwill. The Congress may be a body whose strength of numbers is limited, whose success is doubtful; but numbers do not count in moral warfare, while achievement and success are but relative terms which do not imply merely a single, final, phase of a struggle, but cover really the processes and the progressive stages that precede this ultimate result. When we know that in Russia the strength of the Soviet party was barely half a million in 1930, out of a population of over 80 millions, we can readily understand that movements of national resurgence should be assessed not by volume but weight.

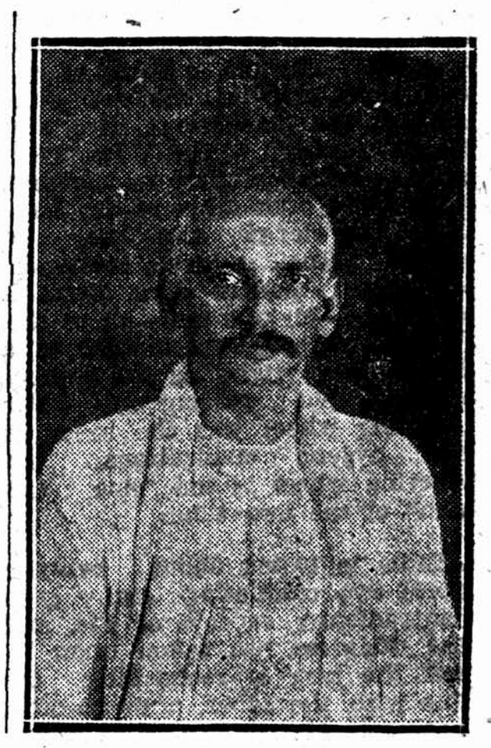
The Congress is the little fire under the huge cauldron in which the old concepts of subjection and slavery are being boiled down to the essence of self-reliance and self-realization. The Congress is the particle of musk within the folds of a bulky wardrobe which permeates the clothing with its own life-giving aroma. The Congress is the dynamo which liberates the spark that explodes the mixture of air and petrol and starts the machine of Indian nationalism.

In a word, the Congress is the seed of the "banyan" which in time germinates and is destined to grow into the mighty tree giving shelter alike to bird and beast. The Congress is not a "political" body addressing itself to administrative grievances, not a social reform organization seeking to bring about innovations in the customs and manners of society, not an Economic Reconstruction League aiming at huge scale manufacture for consumption not a "Mazhabi Hidaya Tika Jamiat", working to restore the faith of mankind in one God and the worship of that God in Truth and in Spirit.

The Congress is all these and more. It is a composite and comprehensive organization of national forces which by their conjoint action are intended to rediscover and reintegrate Indian culture. To this end India has to relieve herself of foreign domination, overhaul the social structure, realign the economic march and build up a new religion, the religion of patriotism worshipping with service and sacrifice the one God of humanity, on the high pedestal of Truth and Non-violence.

BLEND OF NEW AND OLD.

It is only when the purpose of the Congress is understood on this widely receptive basis, that we can also understand the equally wide range covered by the different items of the Congress programme. While the primary duty of the Congress is to shake off the lurking sense of slavery and the blight it works on our sense of citizenship, it is at the same time



DR. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

the supreme concern of the Congress to chalk out those paths of constructive reform by a due synthesis of which Indian Nationalism can claim its due place in the comity of modern nations.

India is truly at the Charing Cross of life, and is puzzled to know which way to proceed. The ancient civilizations, Chaldean, Babylonian and Assyrian, have wellnigh lost their individuality. India and China would have gone the way of their compeers had it not been for the greater elasticity and the higher vitality that is inherent in them. They are witnessing the play of conflicting forces on themselves. They are tossed about between the ideals of their ineradicable heredity and the ideas dominating their alluring but illusory environment. The golden past of their ancestors is irrecoverable, the iron present of their Western rivals is inimitable. The contrast between the

(Continued on page 48)

Synthesis Of Indian Nationalism

(Continued from page 47)

ancient and the modern is glaring as well as puzzling. The old spirit of co-operation is dead, the new spirit of competition is destructive. The old cunning of the hand has perished the new cunning of the machine is tried and found wanting. The lawgivers of old wedded poverty to learning, the empire builders of to-day have made knowledge the key to wealth. Ancient ideals condemned money, modern ones instal it as the be—all and end—all of life. "Duty" was the watch-word of a former age, "right" is the shibboleth of the present day. The spinning wheel was the index of the bygone civilizations, the steering wheel is the "sine qua non" of the new times.

India is tossed about between these two conflicting and even contradictory aspects of life, and the Congress has taken upon itself the task of reconciling the one with the other, and co-ordinating the longings of a heaven-aspiring soul with the ambitions of a world-conquering will. Almost every age, every epoch, every century and every generation has had to effect these reconciliations and the Congress is engaged in a task which, however difficult it may be on account of the peculiar concatenation of the conditions of to-day, is, in kind if not in degree, essentially the task which our "Sasthrakars" and our "Paigambers," our "Rishis" and our "Avalyas" had to face in their own day, and which they successfully effected by the "Riks" and the "Rikans," by the "Vanis" and the "Vahis," by the "Upanishads" and the "Hadisa," by the "Shasthras" and the "Shariat."

WESTERN INFLUENCE

India's problem is not merely the prolem of freeing herself from foreign yoke. India has spent a century and a half under the influence of Western civilizations and has imbibed many of their ways and manners. She has discarded her own culture and been initiated into the culture of her rulers. Indian society is being remodelled after Western society. Concepts of marriage and divorce, liberty of women, pursuit of English education, love of University degrees, craving for service under state, ideas of justice, rules of evidence, transfer of property-conditions of contracts the training of emotions, the domination of intellect the superior attention to the physical body and its enjoyments in life, a fancy for cheap and glossy apparel, the supersession of man by machine in the domain of art and industry, a general spirit of agnostic meterialism, the weakening of the altruistic proclivities and a certain enlightened selfishness—these are some of the conspicuous features of national character brought into prominence by the impact of the Western Civilizations.

GANDHIJI'S SYNTHETIC GOSPEL.

The Congress has witnessed the growth of these thoughts and sentiments under its very nose and it was only in 1906, that it arrested the nation's attention by raising the cry of "Swadesi." Gandhi came on the scene in 1920 and has since worked out a new synthesis. Every synthesis is the resultant of a "thesis" and an "antithesis." In enunciating his Gospel, Gandhi had naturally to condemn some of the new ways which were destructive of the resources of the country and this condemnation soon earned for his teachings the appellation of a negative doctrine. Ideas like matter are impenetrable. Old ideas must be exploded in order to yield place to new ones. The latter are, of course, new and their value cannot be assessed and when that is so people would be loathe to give up for their sake their older variants which had been serving their own purpose for a time. That is why all new teachings are taunted as savouring of a negation. They do, but they carry with them support of a positive form and factor.

The boycott of foreign cloth does not signify the advocacy of nudity, but implies and includes the manufacture of swadeshi cloth—preferably handspun and handwoven. The boycott of Courts does not signify anarchy but implies and includes the promotion of swift and effective justice on the spot by the elders of society. The boycott of councils does not signify the annihilation of laws but the enactment of measures by the true representatives of the people. The boycott of colleges does not signify the endorsement of a state of ignorance and superstition but implies and includes the promotion of national education on national lines, under national control and directed towards the realisation of national destiny. The task then before the Congress is a huge one—. It is complex in character and is beset with difficulties arising from a keen sense of vested interests. Yet has the Congress taken up a programme of a varied character through which there runs a central harmony. Let us study wherein lies this harmony in the seemingly unconnected items of the Congress programme.

DUAL PROGRAMME.

During the past fifteen years, the Congress, as is well-known, has pursued a dual programme even as the Government have done. The latter have described theirs as repression and reform. On the one hand they repress the popular aspirations and on the other they introduce measures which, according to them are designed to meet those aspirations half way. Ours is a programme which is allied to Governmen's. We express our ambitions and aspirations and work them out in two ways. When we meet with resistance from Government, we fight them and whether we fight them or not, we are always engaged in a constructive programme of our own. The construction or reconstruction of national activities is not a light task. It requires inexhaustible resources which a popular body working against the Government of the day cannot easily command. It requires the willing co-operation of the people. When the philosophy of self-reliance is explained, the preachers and the teachers are brought under the blighting operation of obsolete laws or new ones forged for the non-co-operator.

Under the embarrassing conditions, the Congress can only barely touch the outer fringe of national reconstruction in each one of its several aspects or departments. In the domain of "economic" reform, we have revived the craft of Khadder and installed it on a firm basis. It took a whole movement to bring about this seemingly small result. The sufferings of 1920-25 have borne to us this abiding fruit which though it has not wholly introduced handspun handwoven cloth throughout India, has succeeded in driving out nine-tenths of foreign cloth from the shores of this ancient country.

Granted that India would recover her economic self-sufficiency, she cannot, albeit, sustain her nascent nationalism merely by a common antipathy to a foreigner. She must be animated by a sense of equality. The age long evil of "untouchability" of a fifth of the populace—which constitutes a taint on nationalism and a sin against humanity—has attracted universal attention. It is doubtless true that for a decade the

(Continued on page 78)

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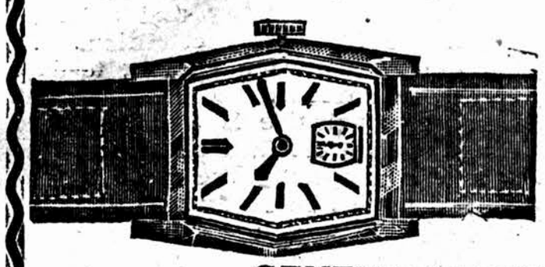

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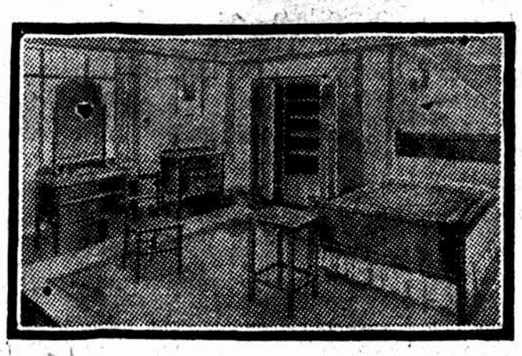

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The Griha Lakshmi

Let Indian Women, By Their Brave Stand Against All Things Ugly, Show The World That Woman's Real Beauty Lies In Her Courage to Do The Right

(BY MRS. VIJAY LAXMI PANDIT)

"Wilt thou know exactly what is seemly? Then ask of noble woman." In these words Goethe expressed the traditional mission of woman to act as the civilizer of man.

In India the same conception of woman and her mission in life has prevailed. Woman was the goddess of the home—the Griha Lakshmi—whose right conduct brought prosperity and happiness and who if she swerved from the path of duty mapped out for her, incurred the wrath of the gods not only on herself but on her family as well. With this training given from the time she was able to understand was it any wonder the Indian woman took her responsibilities seriously and devoted herself to the service of the family and in particular to her lord and master?

There was never any freedom in her life. She was the property of her father, then of her husband and later on she served on her sons with the same humility and devotion. A slave to all intents and purposes, but a willing slave.

Generations of service have left their mark on the Indian woman. She is beautiful, dignified, serene; but the beauty and calm are not of the world. It is the serenity of the nun closely guarded in her cloister, serving her God while life lasts, completely submissive and content. But to-day in India it is not contentment that we require—it is not beauty. What we want is discontent. Such discontent as will lead us to liberty, social as well as political. We do not want beautiful women with the calm and dignity of death written on their faces. India wants free women—women who are alive and whose features are beautiful with the light of knowledge and achievement. Brave women who will not hesitate to break through the numerous evil traditions that enfold them and go forward with the certainty that unless they do so the country cannot hope to progress

Courage To Do The Right

The woman who has not already thought of these things will have to think about them now. She stands at the parting of the ways and must make her choice—and on her choice, depends the future progress and prosperity of India.

Mrs. Vijay Laxmi Pandit.

Let us not waste time in superficial things while the real ones lie neglected. Let our values be real so that we may hand them to our children and build up a better, finer generation than our own.

The work before India is tremendous and unless every man and woman comes forward to help there can be no success. The woman of India have done more than their bit in the service of their families—let them now give of their best to the country and work unceasingly to bring the dawn of freedom nearer. Let our women be not only Griha-Lakshmis but Desh-Lakshmis as well, and by their brave stand against all things ugly let them show the world that the Indian women's beauty lies in her courage to do the right. For it is right action on the part of our women that will ultimately lead us to victory.

Political Freedom v. Social Equality

Talk Of Nationalism Is Rank Hypocrisy Till Untouchability Is Removed

(BY MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN.)

The task of the Congress will only be complete when it has won freedom for India, attained Hindu-Muslim unity and destroyed the intolerable conditions in which Harijans are living to-day. Political freedom is invaluable but equally valuable is the economic and social freedom of all the sections composing the nation. India cannot be really free as long as millions of our brothers and sisters remain in their present position of misery and degradation.

What meaning has political freedom for these unhappy people, if they continue to be the victims of the existing agonising restrictions? They should become human beings before they can appreciate and enjoy political freedom. Shall we attempt to break the shackles which ignorance or prejudice has forged round them? If we do not, all our talk of political freedom is mere camouflage.

Mahatmaji has given us a splendid lead, shall we follow him? He has succeeded in a large measure in destroying untouchability on the astral plane, it is for us to destroy it on the physical plane as well.

Look at the Harijan problem from any point of view, humanitarian, religious, national or social and the conclusion forces itself upon you that untouchability is a stigma and a disgrace. The civilised world has every justification to hold us in contempt if we have not the humanity to lift these unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours out of their present misery.

If a man tells me that he is a nationalist, I wish to find out his attitude towards Harijans before admitting his claim. The talk of patriotism is rank hypocrisy if there is no genuine attempt to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and to remove untouchability.

Let us fervently hope that the Congress will at no distant date attain its goal. Then Hindus and Muslims will be united, Harijans will get out of their humiliating position and India will become free. The success of the Congress means the honour of India.

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To Accept, Or Not To Accept Offices

Congress Pledged To Rejection Of New Constitution And To Policy Of Mass Action, Would Be Stultifying Itself If It Permits Acceptance Of Ministerships By Congressmen

(BY SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR).

The decision of the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of offices under the new constitution is not so difficult as certain people desire us to believe. Those who believe that India can achieve Swaraj through Parliamentary methods and Parliamentary methods alone, however strongly they might condemn the new constitution, have no other option but to accept the offices and work the new constitution as best, or as worst, as they can possibly do. On the other hand, those who believe that Parliamentary methods have only a limited scope as regards pushing forward country's interests towards Swaraj, and that Indians, in order to reach the goal, must depend on mass action, cannot work the new constitution or accept offices under it without stultifying their position.

It is not surprising that men like Sastri, Setalvad and Kunzru, who only yesterday swore against the new constitution to-day plead so earnestly for working it. All weapons their armoury to get the new constitutition modified so as to make it acceptable to their countrymen have been exhausted; now they find an iron wall standing against them; they have no other option, but to capitulate and conform themselves to the new conditions. Discretion, in their opinion, is more often the better part of valour in politics as well as in any other sphere of life.

Congress Committed To Mass Action

But could the Congress attitude towards this question be the same as that of the Liberals? The Congress is yet committed to mass action as the main plank to carry the country to the desired goal. Even those of the Congressmen who have gone to the Legislatures and who are supposed to have adopted wholeheartedly the Parliamentary methods, thunder from the opposition benches the popular slogans showing country's confidence in mass action.

When the issues are so clear, why then so much trouble in the Congress camp about the acceptance or non-acceptance of offices?

When at Patna Gandhiji adopted the Swaraj party programme as Congress programme, he did so because the circumstances forced the Congress to give the same recognition to legislative work as to any other item of the Congress programme. The present trouble in the Congress camp about the acceptance or non-acceptance of offices is mainly due to the existence of two groups in the Congress. One group pays only nominal homage to mass action but in reality has lost all faith in it. The other party does not feel so broken-hearted at the last failure and still pins its faith in mass action. These two groups have very little faith in the Parliamentary methods; at best, for them Legislatures are a platform which can be utilized by Congress to defend its active policy, just as previously Government used these Legislatures to frustrate the same.

Vaccillation In Congress

It is the combination of these two parties in the Congress which is responsible for vacillation and indecision as regards the treatment the Congress should mete out to the new constitution. Both the parties have worked together for long and loyally; they have fought shoulder to shoulder and suffered together in the pursuit of that course. It is so difficult for them to part even when the parting of ways has come. But part they must unless one party is prepared, for love of the past, to sacrifice its principles in favour of the other.

The present trouble with the Congress is mainly due to these two groups with different mental outlook. But the above generalization, like all other generalizations, is not quite correct. Even amongst those of the Congressmen who are for the acceptance of offices, there are people who would not give up mass action altogether. One section openly declares that we should try to make use of the new constitut as best as we can, utilize the power and privileges which can be had under the new constitution for the general good of the country, and prepare that way the country to exert pressure for further reforms.

To another section belong those who try to play with the credulity of the people and declare that they can best reject the new constitution by accepting ministerships. When in office, they allege, they would confront the Governors with such proposals as could not easily be accepted by them and when those propositions are not accepted our friends would resign, create dead-locks and crises, and thus undermine the new constitution from within. They also want us to believe that like jugglers they have many secret schemes up their sleeves which they could display only at the proper time and when they have been allowed to set the stage as they desire.

Playing With Words

One need not bother much about the arguments put forward by the advocates of this policy. Except the fact that they can cleverly play with words, there is not much substance in what they say. They can be offered ministerships only if they were in a majority; and if they were in a majority they could create deadlocks and crises even without accepting any office. The best way for them to end the new constitution would be not to allow any ministry to function. Apart from the fact that the acceptance of offices may create internal dissensions and produce general demoralisation, as is sometimes witnessed in the Calcutta Corporation, no deadlock can beat in its effectiveness the situation that could result in a province from the non-formation of a ministry. The new constitution perpetuates autocracy under the guise of a democratic form; by destroying the chances of the formation of a ministry you tear down that democratic veil and leave autocracy in its nakedness. Why then first accept offices and then reject them, when you can from the very beginning manage that no one is allowed to hold any office at all? It is like the clever man of the story who could catch a bird only when it has first been blinded by the melting wax placed on its head while brisking about in the sun.

It is sometimes argued that if you put your cards on the table from the very beginning and declare openly that you are out to prevent the formation of ministries, you would not get sufficient following in the Legislatures to accomplish what you aim at, and for that reason some sort of juggling is necessary. Those who argue thus seem to have very little faith either in the strength of their own position or in the intelligence of those whom they desire to inveigle into their own party against their wishes. Those who are not patriotic or strong enough to help you in wrecking the new constitution from without, are bound to desert you later on, when you are in the thick of the fight and when they are brought face to face with a crisis. It is a vain presumption to believe that Congressmen can win over non-Congressmen to their side by putting before them the temptation of forming a ministry when in their heart of hearts Congressmen are there to wreck the new constitution. Congressmen may have a right to claim some superiority over members of other parties in respect of patriotic feelings, but when a Congressman declares that he is superior to others also in cleverness and that he can rope in others not subscribing to his views by saying what he does not mean, he is certainly banking too much on his own intelligence and on the lack of same amongst others.

Mass Action And Mass Psychology

But we should certainly pay serious attention towards those who modify the above position by saying that, though the country's battles are finally to be won in the field of mass action, for a few years to come there are no prospects for such an action, and that during this period it would be of great advantage to occupy the positions of power and patronage and utilise them for furthering the cause of mass action and for consolidating the Congress position.

Those who advocate this view forget that for preparing the country for mass action, nothing should be done that may have an adverse effect on mass psychology. It is true that by co-operating with the Government now or under some future constitution, it is possible to derive some personal advantages, or even some petty public benefits. But you cannot lead a country to the goal of Swaraj by working a constitution that is admitted to be reactionary, but only by instilling into the hearts of people a spirit of discontent against all that is reactionary and undesirable. If you succumb to the greed of petty advantages and petty reforms, you are lost for ever to the cause of country's freedom. You cannot produce non-co-operation out of the spirit of co-operation, or fighters out of the spirit of calculating crumb-pickers. Congress stands for Swaraj; it is committed to peacefully fight for that goal; by stopping at the way-side to pick up a few stray grains, it is bound to lose sight of the goal that alone can bring happiness and prosperity to the masses and classes. To change this mentality would be more fatal to the advancement of the country than any policy of repression or persecution from unfriendly quarters.

Some Objections Answered

In this connection it is sometimes urged that when entry into legislatures has created no demoralisation in the country, why should we fear that the acceptance of offices would result in such a set-back? Those who advance this argument forget that there is a world of differences between accepting of offices and entry into the Legislatures. Legislatures are after all a sort of platform. If nothing else, there one can freely voice the feelings of the country. As already stated, so far the Government has used the Legislatures to support its reactionary policy. Congress by entering into the Legislatures has taken away that platform from the hands of the Government. The Legislatures, instead of supporting Government policy, now, when occupied by Congressmen, oppose that policy. It is true that Congressmen in the legislatures have not been able to press the Government to do anything useful for the country or prevent it from adopting undesirable course when it was so minded; but we should remember that in both these respects Government had to work alone without any support from the representatives of the people. Before the Congress entered the Legislatures, it was not so; then the Government claimed that in its

(Continued on page 52)

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TO ACCEPT, OR NOT TO ACCEPT OFFICES

(Continued from page 51)

reactionary or repressive policy it had the support of the people at its back.

Such a change in the functions of the legislatures is not a mean achievement, at least from moral point of view. Formerly debates in the Assembly had a very depressing effect on the mind of the people; now the Congress speeches often produce a tonic effect and people feel that though their representatives cannot achieve anything substantial for the country, they voice there their own feelings and fight there the country's battles.

Can the same be said about the activities of the ministers under the future constitution? Certainly not. The new ministers shall be part and parcel of the Government. When they work the constitution even to the best advantage of the country, they will be there adding to the prestige of the present system of Government; in no way they would be able to help the opposition in its fight against the bureaucracy; nor would they thus help in creating in the country the spirit to wreck the constitution that nobody liked. In fact, if the Congressmen accepted ministerships, they would do so only if the Congress party in the legislatures sat behind Government benches to support it. The whole of their mental outlook will be changed, it would be left to other than the Congress parties in the legislatures to form the opposition and agitate for country's freedom.

Deadlocks

Ministers and their supporters cannot work the constitution and also fight against it. If people accept ministerships simply to create dead-locks they cannot remain in office for more than a few hours; they must resign as soon as they come into real grips with the new constitution. And when they have to leave ministerial precincts so soon after the entry, why not then, as already stated, attack ministerial edifice from the outside, and without in any way compromising your own position and the position of your party?

Sometimes it is said that acceptance of offices is a natural and logical consequence of the permission given by the Congress to enter legisltures. I have shown how different in their results are the two problems. One certainly does not follow from the other. In fact it is more than illogical to accept offices when Congress has rejected the constitution. We should judge each question on its merits; verbal juggiery does not, in such matters, help one to come to any right decision.

Another Shibboleth

Another shibboleth with which sometimes people try to frighten Congressmen is that when country gives them a majority in the legislatures, it is their duty to form the ministries and work the constitution. Here, again, the critics labour under a convenient fallacy. They forget that country supports the Congress not with a view that it would work the constitution but that it should reject it. Congressmen go to the legislatures with one mandate, and that mandate is to wage a perpetual though peaceful war against the forces of reaction till the Swaraj is won. Congress has no allegiance or no duty to any other proposition. As long as Congressmen follow this mandate, whether in majority or minority, they should fear no charge of inconsistency.

As long as the Congress is committed to the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means, and as long as mass action forms part of its policy, the only straightforward course left to it is not to work any constitution which is not acceptable to it, or at least has not the moral support of the great majority of Indians. By adopting that course alone Congress can gain and maintain prestige and strength in the country. There should be no vacillation in declaring such a policy. It is bound to create a set-back in its influence for good if Congress ever hesitates to declare its mind. The Liberals, by following a half-hearted policy, have lost all influence in the country; even the Government has no use for them. Their tragic end should be a warning to all those Corgressmen who are inclined to flirt with the new constitution. The country wants whole-hearted devotees; it has no respect for those who desire to play Mr. Facing Bothways.

Policy Of Vacillation Harmful

The policy of vacillation has never done any good in any political fight. If the constitution that is being imposed upon us is unacceptable, it should be rejected in no unequivocal manner. The going of one Viceroy or one Government, and incoming of a new Viceroy or a new Government, should not in the least deflect us from our path. We should declare our policy on the basis of facts before us. If the facts change, it is not difficult to change our position. He must be extra-ordinarily optimistic who thinks that any change is possible in Bri policy towards India during the next one year or so. To expect for anything new turning up during this period, is to expect milk out of stones. Knowing the mentality of those who confront us, we should not hesitate in framing our reply. If the other side changes its tactics, of which there can be absolutely no reasonable hope at present, we too can change our tictics. Why, as we say in India, should we tuck up our trousers when there is no water in sight?

The voice of doubt and indecision on the part of the Congress Working Committee has already raised hopes in the minds of responsible British statesman that whatever anybody might say, the new constitution is going to be worked by all parties in India. If there was any hope of a speedy change in the constitution in response to agitation in India against it, that is already gone. In case Congress gives its decision to accept the ministerships, whatever verbal camouflage we might employ to hide our position, it would be understood to mean the working of the constitution, and result in the shattering of all hopes of a favourable change in the constitution during a reasonable time limit. The country then will remain saddled for a long time to come with a constitution that nobody liked.

But whatever some of us might or might not say, the heart of the Congress is sound. The Congress is bound to reject the new constitution, not merely by words, but by clear-cut action. The Congressmen in the legislatures cannot be allowed to become part and parcel of the Government by accepting offices, they shall have to fight the Government at each step, they shall fight till sufficient strength is again gained by the country to assert its own rights and proclaim its own freedom.

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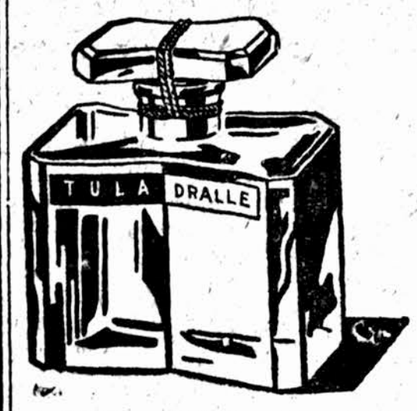

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Women's Part In National Struggle

Gandhiji's New Religion Of Patriotism Has Given Them A Holy Cause

(By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B. Mus.)

In 1923 I wrote in my book "The Awakening of Asian Womanhood" that in no civilised country in the world had women so little freedom of action and so little consciousness of their lack of freedom, as compared with the women of other countries, as in India. It was true as a general statement in that year. By the year 1933 it had become untrue. Why? Because circumstances alter cases. The Soul of Indian womanhood had never been crushed. It only awaited its opportunity to disclose itself in all its power of free thought, free word, free action.

I had written in that book also, after moving freely amongst my Indian sisters for seven years; "there are four great Liberators standing ready to aid women to freedom—Religion, Patriotism, Education and Love." I little thought then that within a decade I should live amidst suc a demonstration of patriotism, by Indian women and its power of freeing all their capacities as has rarely glorified the pages of human history.

Of course there had always been women in this country who had claimed freedom to the utmost by their entire dedication to the religious life as "sannayasinis'. Of course great women patriots even near to our time had led armies to battle against invading and foreign foes. Of course there were able stateswomen wielding royal power at the beginning of this century such as the late Begum of Bopal and the late Maharani Mother of Mysore. When the Soul of India awakened and stirring began to organise the consciousness of a modern nationalism, there were always a few women present at its sessions some preteminent as Saraladevi Choudhrani of Bande Mataram fame, and the climax of that era connected with women and freedom came in 1917 when Mrs. Besant's campaign for Home Rule brought those three great representative women to the forefront of the platform of the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, Mrs. Annie Besant, its President, Begum Bibi Amman, mother of the Ali brothers, and Sarojini Devi Naidu, even then and ever since then the most eloquent Voice for India's Freedom.

GANDHIJI WORKS MIRACLE.

But it took the years of the first Non-Co-operation Movement to establish the name and fame of M. K. Gandhi, as a statesman of vision, and (more particularly as affecting India's womanhood) as a Holy Man. There were but few women inspired into political action by the National Movement of 1920-22 The Saint had not emerged. By 1929 Gandhiji had become authentically known as Mahatmaji. The Voice, the Vision, the Virtue were in affinity with the free Soul of India's people, and are still, and India's women came forward in their thousands for imprisonment, in their millions of sacrificing service of every lesser kind, and as a full half of the population in their support of the Swaraj movement during the years of Direct Action—1929-33.

Gandhiji did not envisage his new campaign as a movement as applicable to women as to men. He Mdefiinitely excluded women from taking part in the Dandi march. But women would not be bound by his prohibition. Rukmini Laxshmipathi in Madras was the pioneer woman of salt satyagrah fame, and was the first woman sentenced to a years' imprisonment. Then came Kamaladevi Chattopadhyayya making salt on Chowpatti sands even against the wish of Gandhiji. But succeeding through success as she sold half a lakh's worth of the contrabrand salt through Bombay and to lawyers in the very High Court. Every man, even Gandhiji, had to learn what the Indian woman patriot of this new era could, and would, and did, and will do, in the cause of the political freedom of India which patriotism has become a new aspect of religion, in which Love of the country has overflowed into love between members of families, between sexes, between communities, into that love which casteth out fear, that Love which maketh free the individual units from all the old inhabitions, and which National Movement became education in the real values of life.

NEW RELIGION OF PATRIOTISM

Life became new during those years. Deeds became new. How was it that women suddenly stepped out of a grey dawn into a fierce publicity like superwomen? Plain prose does not fit the facts. I am no poet. But the matter makes its own medium.

Women in India took their place in the forefront of the political struggle from 1920, because the new religion of patriotism offered them:—

A Holy Cause ..... Swaraj
A Holy Man ..... Gandhiji
A Holy Place ..... Prison
A Holy Colour ..... Kesari
A Holy Vestment ..... Khaddar
A Holy Flag—The Congress Flag, Green, Kesari and White.
A Holy Symbol—The Charka.
A Holy Mood—Courage, Aspiration.
A Holy Weapon—Non-Violence.
A Holy 'Tapas'—Self-sacrifice.
A Holy Campaign—Self-Dependence.
A Holy Constructive Programme—Buy Indian, give spinning and weaving work to the poor peasants, stop intoxicating drink, non-cooperation with foreign exploiters.
A Holy Price for Freedom—Self-suffering.

WHAT THEY SUFFERED

It was a religion which suited Indian women who though illiterate are intuitional, though poor in coin are rich in powers of service, though shrinking and shy to a fault in personal matters are brave as lions for the race, for the future, for the impersonal.

Participation in the Holy War entailed for them no expense, no knowledge of statistics, no technical details, no great scholarships, no academic degrees, no testimonials or chits, no age limit, no inequality of sex.

The street became the platform,
The orange saree, the uniform
Folded hands, the instrument of persuasion
National songs, the tom-tom advertisement
Congress Processions, rivers of national life
Khaddar, the certain sign of comradeship

What did these women suffer?

The glare of publicity as they stood picketing foreign cloth shops; the foulness of indecent speech, of sickening smells, of leering looks, of physical danger as they pleaded with people not to enter drink shops.

The agony of physical pain as they bore lathi blows

The vileness of imprisonment with criminals

Hunger, hard labour, silence cells, solitary confinement, differential treatment amongst their political comrades, the stupidity of authorities, loss of friends, separation from loved ones, bad health to the point of death, poverty, despair.

What did all accomplish?

The breaking of barriers of caste, of sex, of place pollution, of money differences, of prison classifications, of food orthodoxy, of prejudices, of racial divisions, of inferiority complexes, of ignorance, of fear and of a slave mentality.

WOMEN S GAINS.

What of the present?

Action through the Legislatures is too slow, too artificial, too technical, too expensive for women in the mass, too far away from their home life and its loved details such as food, clothing, drink, freedom of speech, cottage industries, care of the children. Yet what they did has ensured that 57 women must be elected to the various Chambers of the Legislative machinery when the new India Bill comes into action (though alas, on the communal electorate they protested against); that women may in addition be elected for the general seats voted for by men and women; that some women must be members of all local Government Boards and Education and Committees; that women will be honorary bench magistrates; that the public services will be open to them; that the Congress Committees and offices are open to them; that sex will be no disqualification to all the rights, honours, opportunities and duties of citizenship in Swaraj India; that Indian women 'may' do what they 'can' do; that in acting as free women they have demonstrated that the soul of India is not in chains.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

What of the Future?

Women await with impatience their next psychological moment when the circumstance in affinity with them will again show them 'en masse' as champions of freedom, as the chitras into whose character Rabindranath Tagore so truly put in the following great truths:

> "I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you keep me by your sire in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

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Madame Naidu, Symons And Myself

A Reminiscence

(BY PROF. YONEJIRO NOGUCHI.)

Confucius says: "Look at his eyes! They are a truth-teller and soul-revealer; they cannot tell falsehood." In the preface of "The Golden Threshold" Arthur Symons dwells on Sarojini Naidu's eyes. I myself had several occasions in London, away back in 1913, to see Sarojini's eyes which, like those of a squirrel, were susceptible to a gross sound in nature and life and instantly threw away all the patience into impatience. They revealed, at least hinted about something of Madame Naidu's personality, through which she approached poetry with creeping footsteps. She is an enchantress who makes a conquest of poetry, creating a call-bird out of passion and intellect; she knows how to disembody poetry to pieces and then how to join them into a perfect whole. When one reads her poems to admire their passion like a sumptuous festival of Indian night, I think that he sees only one side of her, missing the other that is intellectual. How she could, without the endorsement of intellect, acquit such duties of a public activity which she is carrying out of late! I am not qualified to talk about her political career; but only I want to dwell here on the poetical passion expressed in her books of poems, and to say that it has a solid background of intellect. One must not forget the existence of a reality when he admires its beautiful shadow on the ground.

LITERARY BUTTERFLIES.

It was Edith Thomas, an American poetess who passed away many years ago, that made me known first to the name of Sarojini Naidu, and instigated my desire of knowing of her, saying that we, Sarojini and myself, should know each other and combine our force in propagation of poetry in the East. Fate was kind to me when I happened to be in London in 1913, and found Madame Naidu there, in clinging dress of eastern silk that matched with her sensitive nerves, who stretched out her friendly arms to me. We felt at once ourselves to be old friends of long standing. As a stray bird with all freedom and, better still, a special privilege of selection, both of us enjoyed our temporary life among the poets and artists who, according to their creeds or taste, formed a different group of their own; how glad we were to meet a stranger in London, and without or with discrimination, make friends with all of them. I often said to Madame Naidu. "We are a literary butterfly, are we not? We are permited to go from one group to another group, being not suspected but received with equal welcome. I cannot help wondering, however, to find that even in England those artistic workers build their own little kingdoms and kneel before their own jealous gods. That might be quite excusable but none the less unpleasant."

It was in one of the periodical meetings of the "Poets' Club" that I saw Madame Naidu before I left London, which was held in the large hall of a restaurant in Picadilly, with some mid-Victorian octogenarians in the chairs of red velvet and gilded gold. The ladies, young and old, with hair yellow or red or even green, (a green-haired woman was beginning to be a gossip at that time,) proved that they had to learn much in the matter of dressing, although I did not think them to be colour-blind as a Frenchman said. Among those ladies, a nightingale or thrush or mere sparrow, Sarojini Naidu was found ill at ease, not knowing where to turn her sunflower-eyes; I was pleased, however, to notice a little sinnabar mark on her dark brow, that reminded me of her lines in which she compared the golden moon with a mark of caste in India. I thought then in my mind: "It was Francis Thompson that called the sun a monk in holy robe; this imagination was quite natural to a Catholic poet like himself. Now when Sarojini takes down the moon from a Diana's throne and places a mark of caste in India instead, she is laughing, as it seemed to me, at the traditional imagination of the West. I cannot help wondering, when I think about it, at her valour, that is concealed, however, under her frail little body. She is unlike a western woman who wears intellect round the neck as if a necklace; with a bench of flowers in hand, Madam Naidu takes the field to fight against life."

YONE NOGUCHI.
(A sketch by Radha—Cartoonist).

MAGIC OF THE EAST

It was only a few days after I returned to London from Oxford where I lectured on Japanese poetry to the students, half a human freak, half a gentleman, and the solemn dons, half a monk, half a magistrate; therefore I was high-spirited, I confess, so that I even criticised the poetical congregation in the hall I mentioned above, that hummed a low song of mediocrity. Being asked by the chairman of that night, Sarojini Naidu read one of her poems, beginning with an apology in which she begged for allowance in the matter of English, because it was the language acquired but not inborn; I was surprised, however, that her pronunciation in a gentle voice was so beautiful and correct that made me think of a bird of wisdom raised under the glittering Bo-trees. I thought then that she would become an eloquent platform speaker when necessity inspires her. It was natural for her to become an actual worker in life, when already in "The Golden

(Continued on page 55)

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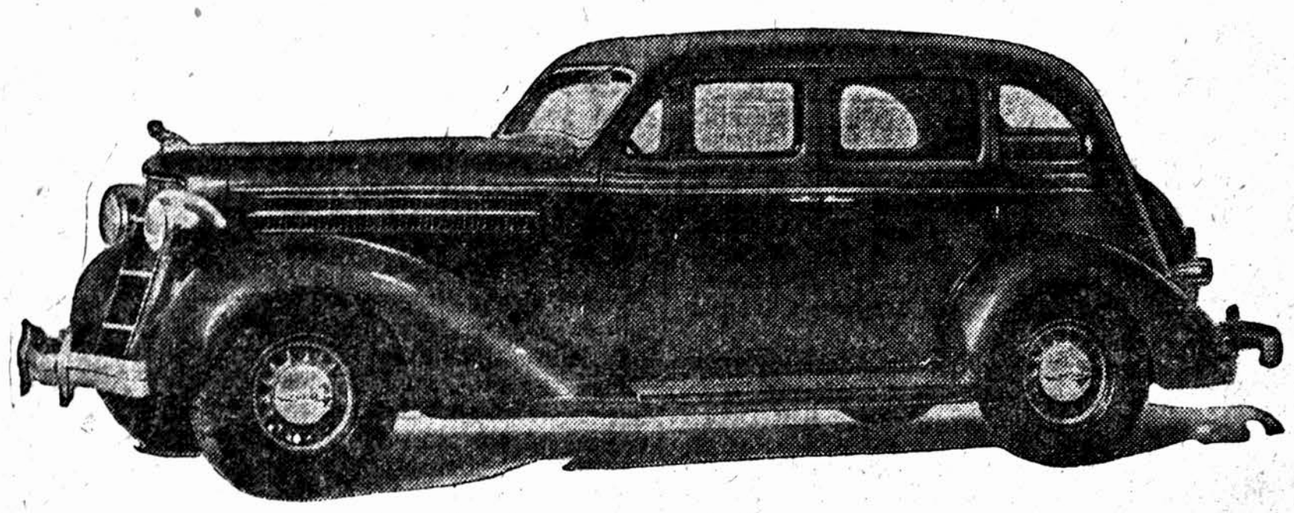

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Madame Naidu, Symons And Myself

(Continued from page 54)

Threshold" she exclaimed as follows:

"Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate
from thy gloom,
And, like a bride high-mated
with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thine
ageless womb!"

But whenever I think about Sarojini Naidu, her little figure that wraps an older wisdom than that of a Christian under a silken robe, looms up in my mental horizon; it pleases me much as a feminine symbol of India, an eternally young wine in the oldest bottle, Sometimes I think about her student-day in London, when her poems delighted Edmund Gosse for the first time. She had written to Arthur Symons as follows: "I have the vision and the desire, but not the voice. If I could write just one poem full of beauty and the spirit of greatness, I should be exultantly silent for ever; but I sing just as the birds do, and my songs are as ephemeral." Then Symons said: "It is for this bird-like quality of song, it seems to me, that they are to be valued. They hint, in a sort of delicately evasive way, at a sure temperament, the temperament of a woman of the East, finding expression through a Western language and under partly Western influences. They do not express the whole of that temperament, but they express, I think, its essence, and there is an Eastern magic in them." Now this poetess with eastern magic turned to a reformer and social worker,—certainly she is now one of the most interesting women of the East.

I have one of her poems in her autograph, "To Buddha on the Lotusthrone," in which she interprets a mortal moment as a session of eternity. When one says that this thought is not Buddhistic but Vedantic, he is right, since Sarojini Naidu is the daughter of a dreamer and scholar, a great lover of forests and caves. She writes somewhere about the father, saying that for his complete failure in actual life was well made up with a wonderful curiosity in alchemy that, as a twin brother of poetry, is but a longing towards mystical desire. Whether he wrote poems or not, Sarojini's father with Homeresque beards in white and laughter shaking even the roof would have been a great poet himself. I am happy to find in "The Broken Wing" one poem dedicated most reverently to his memory, in which Madame Naidu dwelled on how his dream and wisdom were harmonised with the spirit of the times as well as the vision out of a Vedantic tradition. Without the blood of such a father, Sarojini Naidu would not have been able to become as she is to-day.

A MEMORY OF ARTHUR SYMONS.

This reminiscence cannot become complete without drawing Arthur Symons into it. In the winter of 1913 I was in London, not without a thought of Symons; and my mind was relieved when I accepted a kind invitation of Madam Naidu to meet him in her room of a nursery home in Park Lane. As usual the wintry afternoon of London created a town of fantasia out of that of shopkeepers as in a remark of Napoleon or somebody, with the world-famous fog in which, when I walked down Piccadilly toward Park Lane of my Indian friend's, not that of an English millionaire's, the large round balls of fire in the low sky in the west and east, the sun and moon, hailed me from both sides. The scene sifted from Thomson's City of night, whether it be dreadful or not, to a flowery garden of the east when I entered Madam Naidu's little room in the said nursery home of Park Lane.

Symons was a personality, quite distinguished, not attaining by force a place of challenging potency: I would like to say metaphorically that Symons was, not a Hyde Park where the promenade drow a rainbow-like audacity across the earth-breast, but a Lincoln's Inn Fields or Temple where we were pleased to play an eddy or backwater with the self-satisfaction of detachment, wilfully strayed from the main stream of life. His poems are rich in the atmosphere almost private, in which love throws its painful shadows, and thoughts hang like a ghostly web swinging between the senses; they delight me with an insistent individuality peculiarly revealed in one mood which being quite eastern, is strange enough in England. When I say that Symons is weak, I mean that he always seeks after a sympathy of harmonious surroundings, under which he surrenders to the pastime of the fates. Admitting that poets, when they are true, are sad restless and dissatisfied, Symons, I thought, is well qualified in that respect, when I looked upon his face which with such eyes of Welsh dreaminess. He was assuming an expression of Verlainesque irregularity accentuated by somnolent fire. But instead of Verlain's impulsive abandonment that defied all intellects, Symons could not wholly forget, I thought, a sense of morality that loomed up to frighten him.

"A long time ago", Symons continued, "when arts and poetry were young in modern sense, Yeats, Davidson, Dowson and myself, used to meet regularly at the Cheshyre Cheese, between the long clay pipes and tankards of ale, and hoped to bring a Latin Quarter of Paris inta London. It was, I dare say, the first attempt to create a true literary atmosphere in this impossible England, although we failed in creating it, because England, half proud and half self-deceiving, was never congenial to the development of new poetry in which life's restrictions should be unbuttoned. But it is not without joy to think that our attempt was the only one literary event England ever had in her long annuals."

I thought then that there was nothing more delightful for Symons to think or to talk about than the old time of his Bohemian life with "drawn blinds and flaring gas within, and wine, and women, and cigars". He was pleased to listen to my talk on the influence of Mallarme and Verlaine in Japan; when I asked him about their influence in England, Symons declared offhand that his country had nothing of it. "But you are a French poet!" Sarojini Naidu exclaimed, turning to Symons with her wonderful Indian eyes open wide, that like a sunflower toward the sun, were all the nerves of delight. This declaration of Madam Naidu made Symons blush a little and tickled him gently.

CONTEMPORARY POETS

It was natural that our talk flowed into a channel of English poetry; again it was so natural that, being asked who was his first choice among the modern poets of England, the name of Swinburne came at once to Symons's lips, and he said: "Swinburne is a nerve itself. Every libre of his is rhythm, wave-like swing of fire and passion. Whom do I like best of the present poets? There's no poet worthy of consideration except Yeats; but Yeats is a sort of shadow, not a reality. (Here Sarojini broke in saying that glamour was the word for Yeats.) Even when Yeats sings love and woman; he means a shadowy love and woman; his dreams are heavy. (Here I interrupted Symons saying that Yeats was turning to life's reality of late.) At any rate there is no other poet at present but Yeats." Then coming round to Joseph Conrad, Symons declared: "Conrad is a mighty swing of colourful vision. While he is visionary, he is real on the other hand. He invents, but never creates. His vocabularies are living with strong impulse. He is great in the point that he alone brought a great soliloquy into English literature."

Then our talk wavered, as if a fog outside, from this to that; it dwindled and stopped and then started again, pursuing its own sluggish course, in which we agreed or disagreed with equal delight. When the talk flagged into a gossip, respectable or unrespectable, and then into silence, Madame Naidu tried to rescue the crisis with the social cups of tea.

Well, this reminiscence is the matter of more than twenty years ago. Symons retired now from potry completely, as it seems; and taking up politics and social reform, Madame Naidu left me alone in poetry and literature. But whenever I think of Symons and Madame Naidu the scene, in which I took a part, revives at once in my mind. I cannot forget how that afternoon sunk down, collapsing into evening, and how I walked with a stage effect when I left Sarojini's hospital room, into a street fog to make myself a Hamlet in inky cloak.

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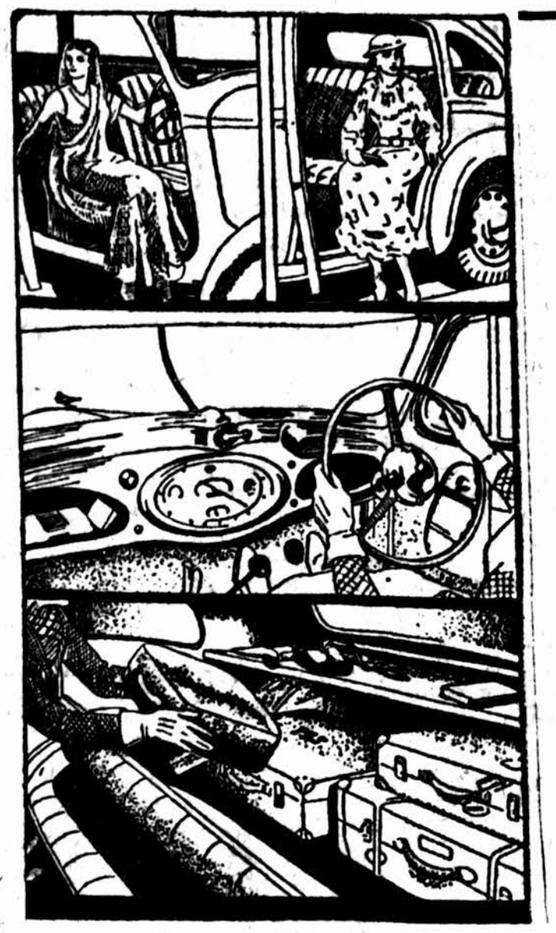

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Shift To The Left

Next Phase In Congress Politics

(BY DR. SUMANT MEHTA).

Is it not strange that for a remarkably long period of nearly twenty years an Englishman, Mr. Hume, was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress? During those twenty years the Congress went through various phases of excited fervour on one side and dull apathy on the other. In 1887 the Local Government refused to give the use of a site for building the Congress Pandal which put fresh life and vigour into the National institution. It is always when working against an opposition that an individual or a nation puts forth its best energies.

SURAT SPLIT

The Congress entered the second phase in 1907 when thanks to the stupidity of Curzon the agitation for the repeal of the Bengal Partition was at its height. The parting of ways amongst the moderates and the extremists at Surat was the result of the great awakening which had taken place all over India, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra culminating in the programme for national education, revival of indigenous industries (Swadeshi) and self-Government.

The advent of Mrs. Besant inaugurated an epoch of ceaseless agitation which brought into the field of politics a large army of young enthusiastic men. The so-called extremist party got absorbed in the Congress and the moderate element found it discreet gradually to retire.

GANDHIAN PERIOD

The Gandhian period introduced several new elements. For example, non-co-operation and its sequel, Civil Disobedience. This direct action very nearly disorganised the Government tactics and it is well-known that by the beginning of 1922 the Congress was within an inch of scoring a victory.

The introduction of spinning indirectly led to very intimate contact with the villagers which indirectly led to an expression of agrarian dissatisfaction. The day-to-day constructive work for the Congress led to the organisation of an army of paid or unpaid workers who more or less devoted all their energies to the fulfilment of the Congress programme.

Started during the Home rule movement the awakening amongst the merchant and artisan classes spread very wide during the following ten years. The Khilafat agitation helped by the Congress brought many new Muslim leaders, there was a stir amongst the rural population which became intense after the Bardoli struggle and the youth movement gained much strength. In 1930 the women came on the scene and did wonders.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

All this time, independent movements were gaining strength simultaneously. Thus the All-India Trade Union movement was organising the labourers in the textile, railway and other industries. Under the stress of conflicting ideals the moderate element seceded and formed a Federation. Except for an occasional flirtation by some prominent Congress leaders the Labour Movement had kept aloof from the National Congress, and even now there is neither affiliation nor amalgamation.

DR. SUMANT MEHTA.

As a result of the Youth Movement the Congress was showing some signs of shifting to the left but it was during the round-up and incarceration of all the leaders in 1932 that a fairly strong and vocal element of the youthful Congressites showed Socialistic tendencies. They formed groups throughout the country and later on started a Congress Socialist party.

CONGRESS NOT PLAYED OUT

It seems certain that the whole Congress has taken a swing towards the Left. Superficial observers may say that the Congress is played out, its role as a bourgeois institution is over. As a matter of fact its membership need not remain predominantly bourgeois. Its constitution can be remodified so that it need not remain a closed body. Its Working Committee can go into younger, fresher and more vigorous hands. It may be sufficiently broad-minded to affiliate Labour associations. Rules can be framed so as to secure real representatives of the farmers and landless peasants. All this can be done. All this must be done if the National Congress is to be saved from senile decay.

The Congress must restrict its work to political emancipation. Swadeshi, Khadi, removal of inequalities (untouchability) must be handed over to auxiliary bodies.

There are differences of opinion as regards the goal. Should it be a Socialist State or not? Will all power rest in the hands of the proletariat? There will be keen conflicts in attempting to solve these problems, but the difficulties have got to be faced. The Congress must show its vitality by changing the present constitution and the present leadership. If it fails to do so it will become a back number, fighting an internecine, losing battle, eventually dwindling into a reactionary body of secondary importance.

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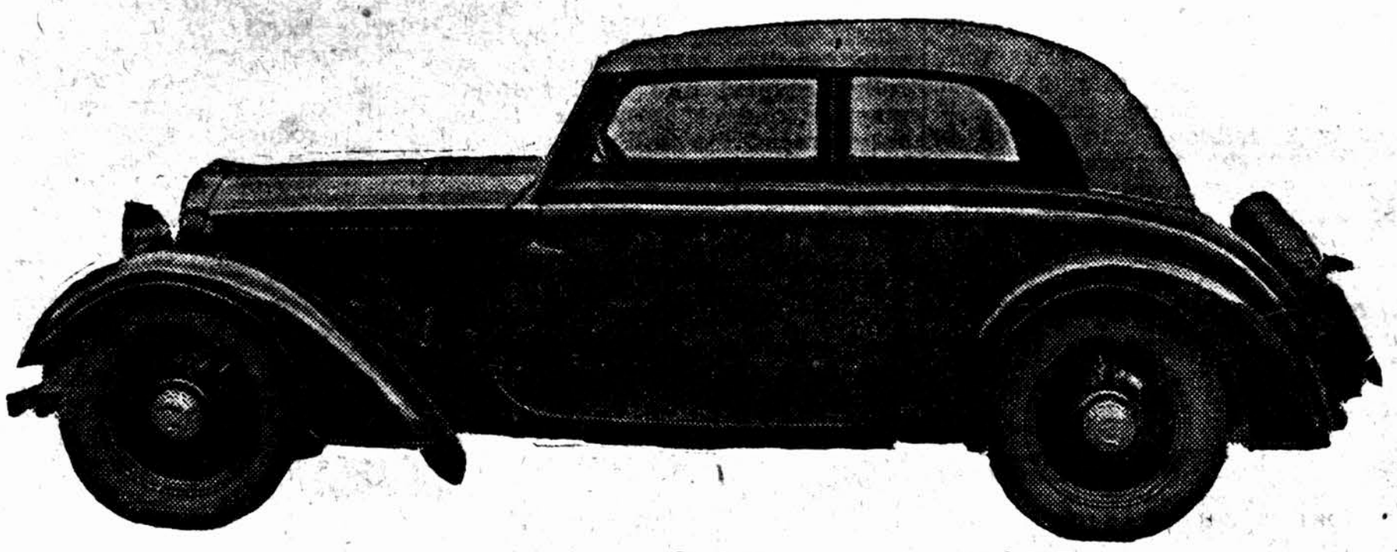

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Berlin--City Of Exhibitions

Millions Visit Annual Fairs Every Year

(By H. R. Wadhwani, B.A. (Bom) Text Eng. (Germany).

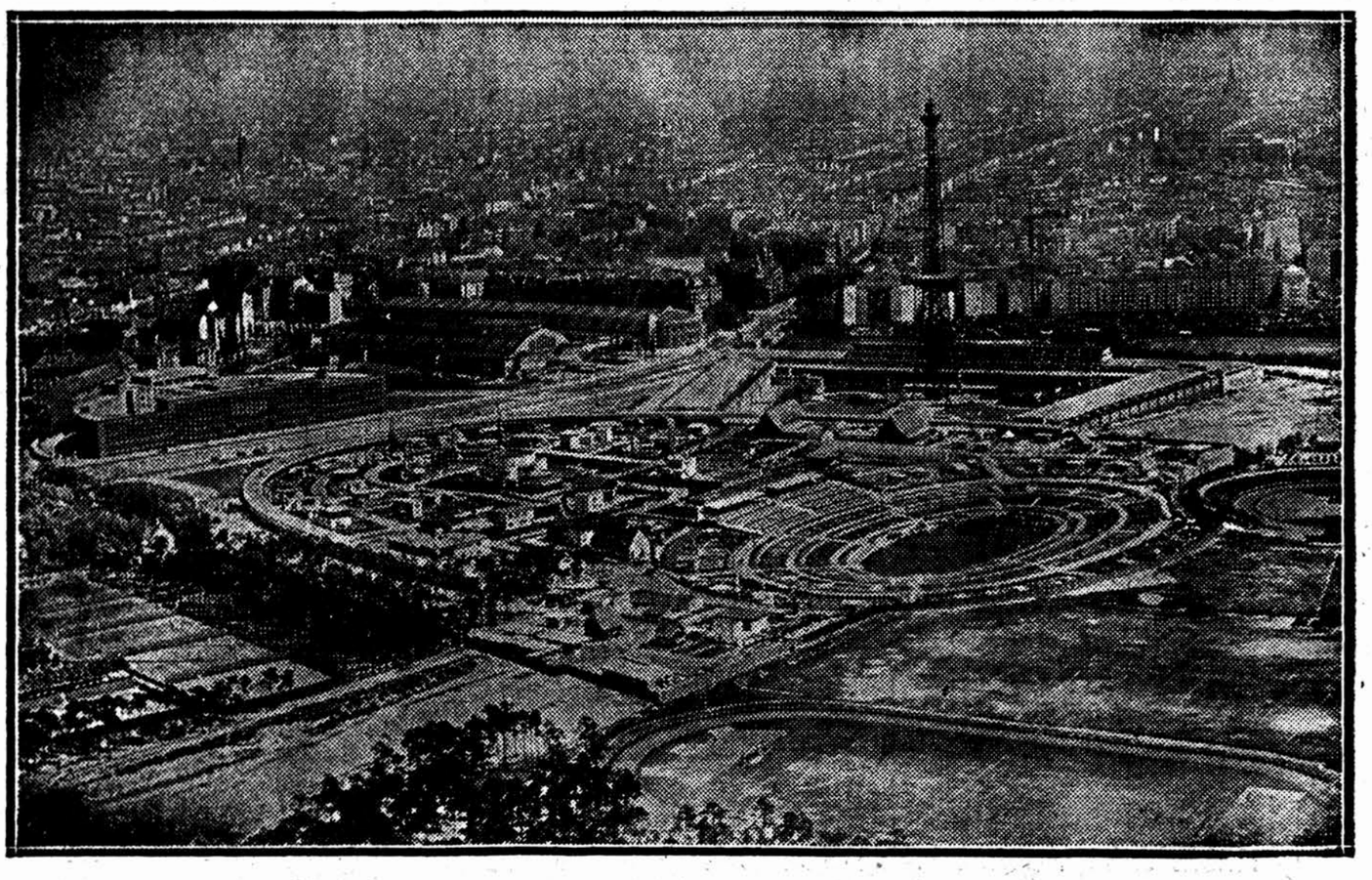
Exhibitions and technical fairs have assumed a very great importance in modern economic life and almost all European countries as also America have set up permanent organisations to organise and conduct them. We have heard a good deal about British Industries, Chicago and Leipzig Fairs, Wembley Olympia and Berlin Exhibitions; but there is perhaps no other country so much advanced in the art, technique and organisation of exhibitions and fairs as Germany, and Americans rightly consider Germans as "the most skilful organisers of expositions in the world."

Berlin—the capital of Germany, the third great city in the world —is also known as the "City of Exhibitions." It is not that her fame in that respect, is confined to Germany alone, but she has won world-wide reputation for the wonderful display, art, technique and thorough organisation she has shown in her expositions. These are, therefore, visited not only by hundreds of thousands of Germans, but also by foreigners in large numbers.

COMPREHENSIVE DISPLAY.

Berlin exhibitions and technical fairs deal with the present day cultural and economic problems in a very clear and lucid manner. They are not like the usual sample fairs, merely shop-window exhibitions of industrial commodities, but they give an instructive display of the achievements of the special branches dealt with from all points of view—cultural, political and economic. They give a comprehensive idea of the growth and development of the different branches of industry in their manifold aspects and their future possibilities. As an example, mention may be made of the great exhibitions and fairs of the automobile and radio trades, of German agriculture, hotel and restaurant business etc., which are held at fixed intervals attracting visitors from all parts of the world.

To organise and conduct them, there is an organisation known as "Gemeinnutzige Berliner Ausstellungs, Messe-und Fremdenverkerhrs G.m.b. H." in Berlin. It employs a special technical staff and expert advisers to control and regulate them. Every year about nine exhibitions are held and of these one is most elaborately organised, taking about one to two years in preliminary preparations. There are eight big exhibition halls measuring 60,000 sq. metres with an open space of double that area running around it. A huge Radio-Tower measuring 138 m. high stands in the midst of the exhibition grounds with beautiful lawns. About midway up the Radio-Tower, there is a restaurant for the recreation of the visitors and for the entertainment of children, the chief feature being a Liliput Railway Train which carries them round the beautiful lawns-and even elderly people take "joy rides" in it.



Bird's eye-view of Berlin Exhibition Grounds, including the Halls—in the midst stands the big Radio Tower, 138 metres high.

3 MILLION VISITORS

During the year 1933, the Berlin exhibitions and fairs were visited by not less than 2 million people, which figure increased to nearly 3 millions in 1934—of these 17,00,00 visitors were from Berlin, 9,00,000 from other parts of Germany and it is interesting to learn that 2,00,000 were from foreign countries. One could easily make out from the information so far available that the number of visitors to the exhibitions by the end of this year will surpass all previous records.

In order to attract people to the exhibitions, the German railway offers 33 to 60 p.c. reduction in railway fairs and many special trains are run from all parts of Germany to Berlin, thus giving opportunities to the interested visitors not only to see exhibitions but also to have an idea of the city of Berlin and its surroundings. On such occasions when special trains bring people from all parts of Germany, all Berlin hotels, boarding houses and private families, taking guests, are fully occupied and all theatres, cinemas and other places of entertainment are full of life and merriment. Thus it will be found that apart from the great benefit derived from such great expositions, the mere fact of such large numbers of people collecting in the big city gives a great impetus to the trade and economic life of the country.

AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION

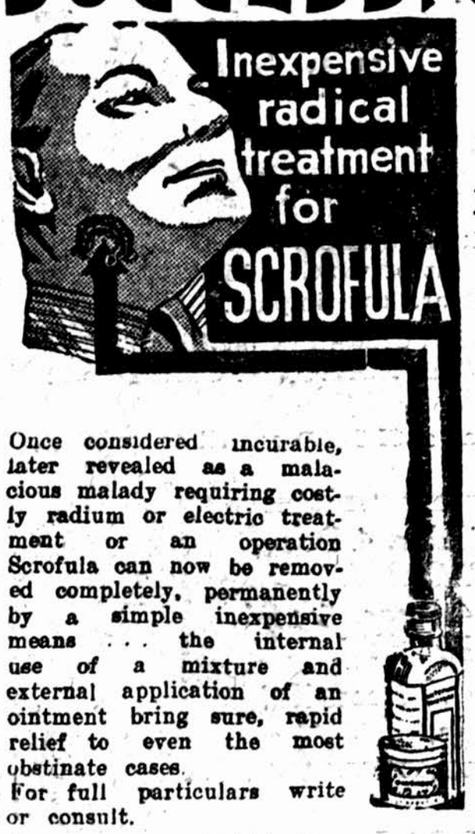
It might be interesting to know something about some of the exhibitions held this year. The Agricultural Exhibition which was held in the beginning of the year was considered to be the biggest show of agriculture in Europe and was visited by 2½ million people. It dealt with all about agriculture, forests, production, consumption, agricultural marketing, poultry-farming, dairy etc. etc. Farmers, agriculturists and other interested persons came from all parts of the country to visit this exhibition and all the latest machines, appliances, manures and various other articles which could be utilized for the improvement of their products were shown to them. It gave a clear idea as to the utility of agriculture for the people and the State and the place it occupies in the economic life of Germany.

It was a wonderful sight to see the beautiful Flower Show of this year. Not less than 10 millions of flowers and plants were put up for exhibition—a thing which could be better conceived than described. It was not a show, but a "Fairy Garden"—a veritable "Flower Paradise." In harmony with the fairy atmosphere pervading the show, 100 girls were engaged to give ballet dances, with a view to provide entertainment for the visitors.

This year's Radio Exhibition was so attractive and interesting that it was not only visited by Germans in hundreds of thousands but by many foreigners also who came in large numbers. More than 150 special trains brought people from all parts of Germany to Berlin. The Radio Exhibition of 1934 had attracted 300,000 persons, but the exhibition of this year created so much interest among the people that the number of visitors increased to the astounding figure of 480,000—thereby breaking all previous records. All kinds of radios, gramophones, records, recording machines loud speakers and in short everything connected with Radio was there. An entire hall was filled with working television sets and demonstrations

(Continued on page 61)

SUCCESSFUL TREATMENTS



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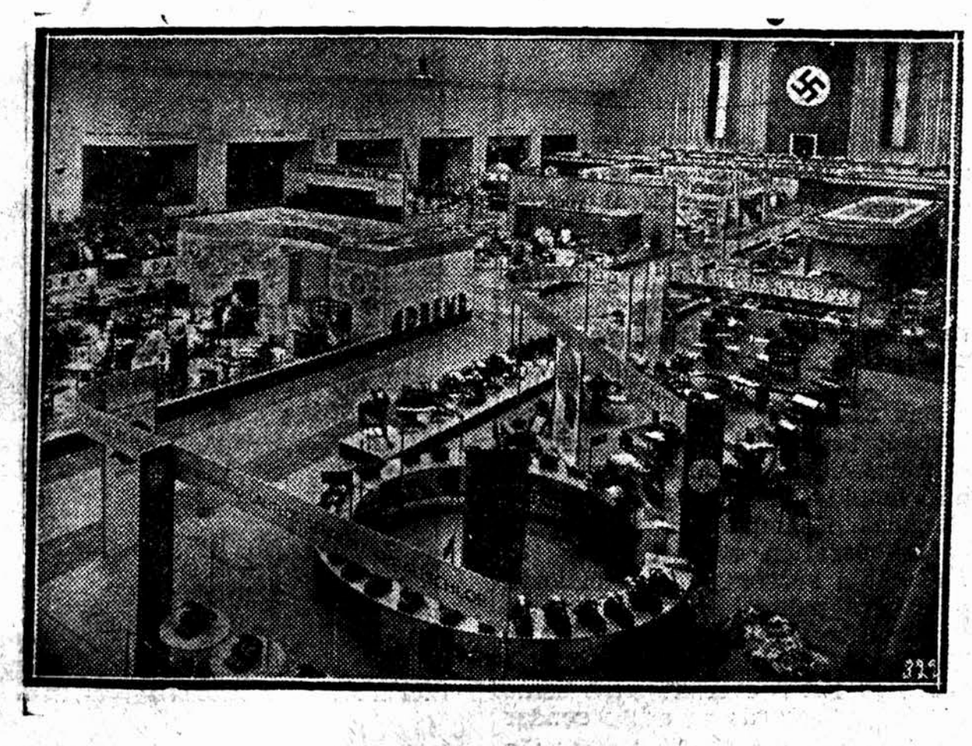
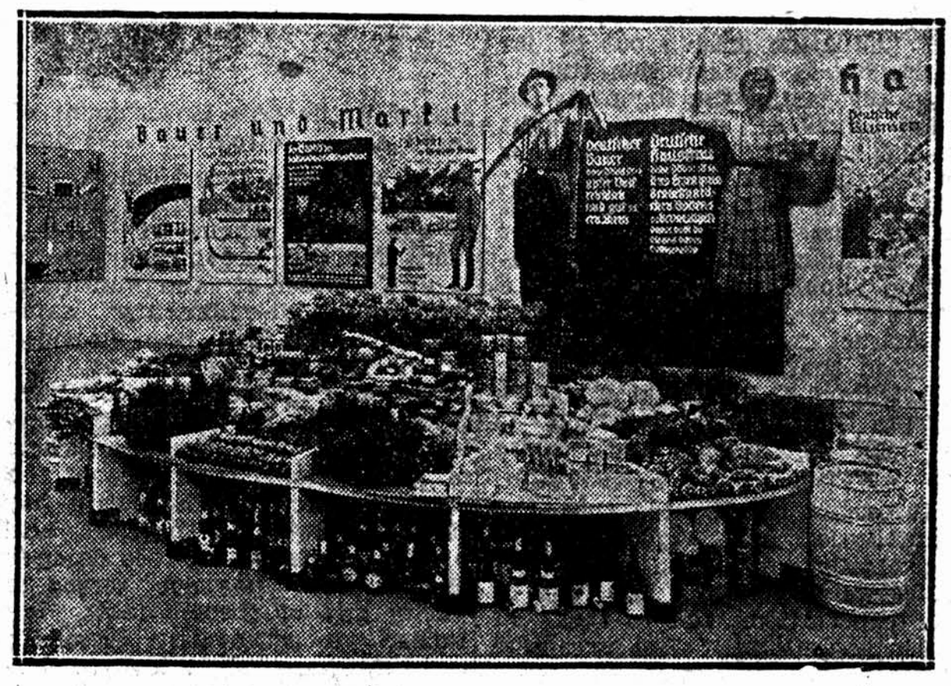
Through The Berlin Exhibition Grounds

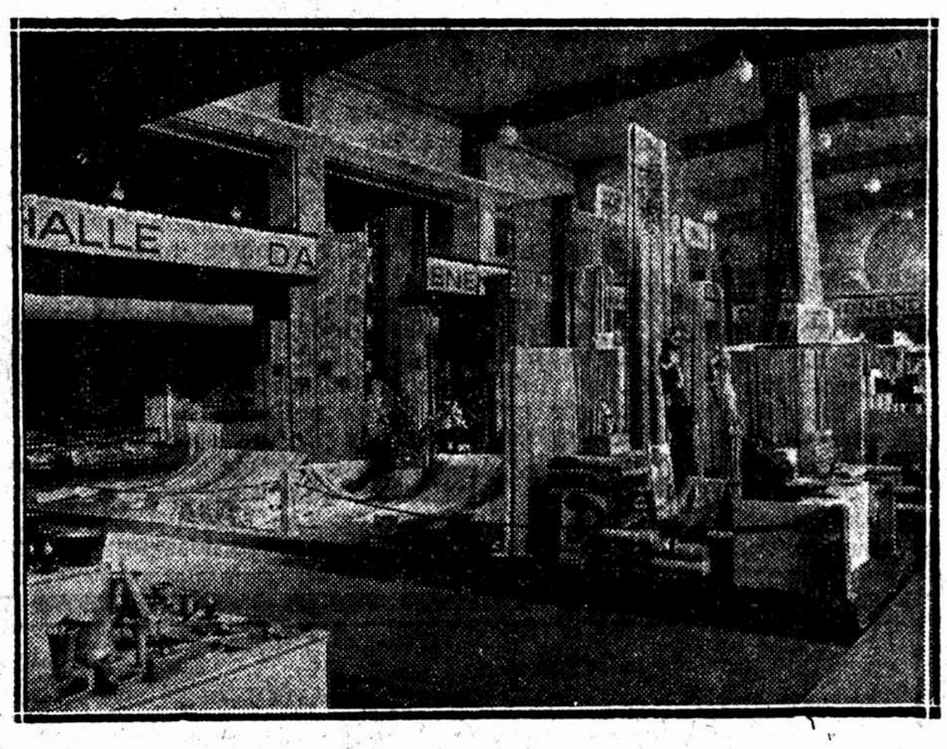


International Bureau Exhibition, in which all office requisites and useful material are exhibited.

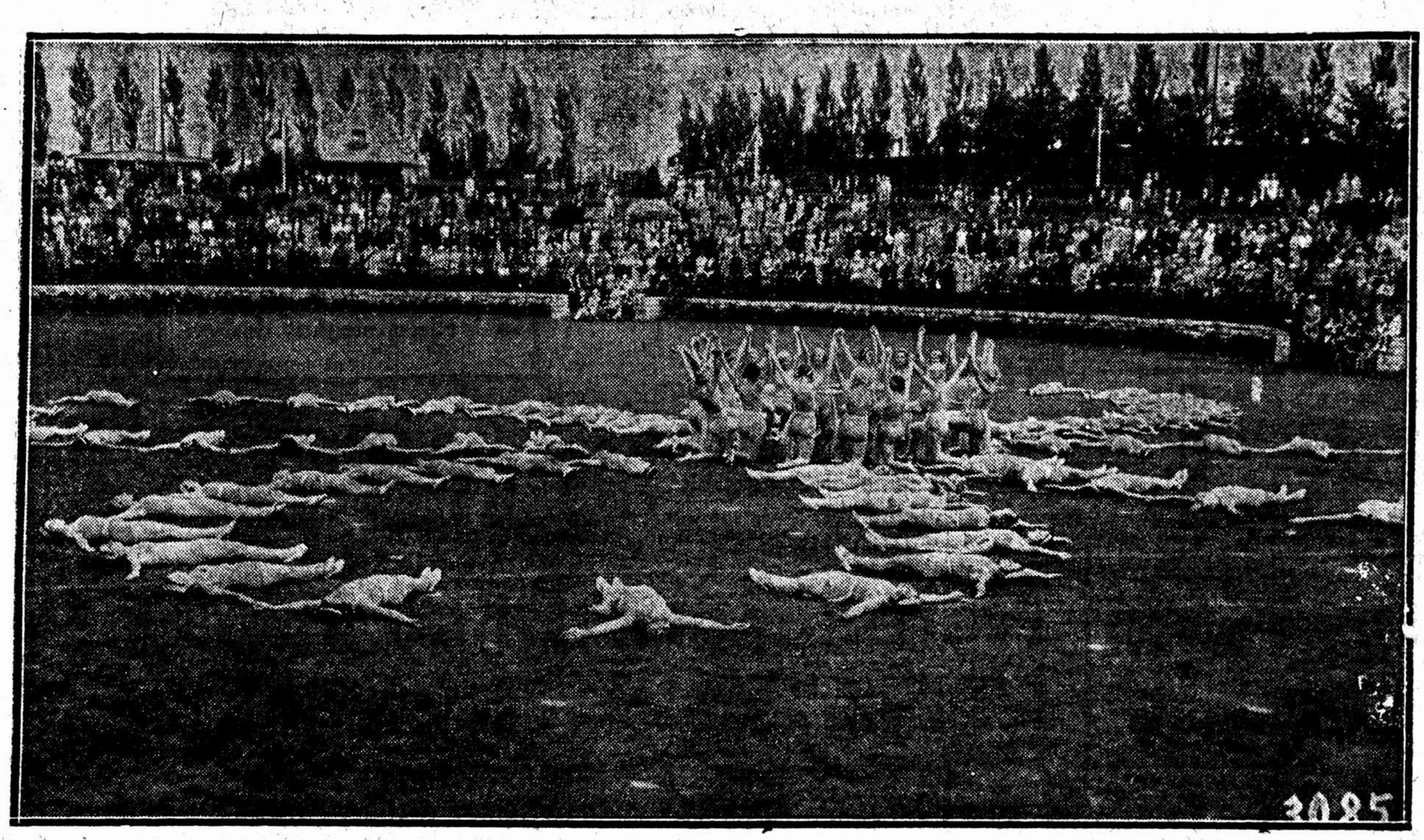


"The Farmers and Market" as depicted in the Agricultural Exhibition.

Children's problems, as well as those pertaining to women, are dealt with in the "Woman" Exhibition.



Some of the textile fabrics in the "Sun, Air and House for All" Exhibition.



In harmony with the fairy atmosphere pervading the "Flower Show," 100 girls are giving Ballet Dances for the entertainment of the visitors.

INDIA & THE NEW CONSTITUTION

All Must Unite To Resist Perpetuation Of Evil Aspects Of Reforms

(By B. N. GOKHALE)

The New Constitution is an accomplished fact. How to meet the situation arising out of its enactment is a question that is naturally taxing the ingenuity of every school of political thought in the country which is anxious to see the speedy attainment of the goal of Swaraj by India. A lot of dust has been raised over the question whether the constitution should be worked in a spirit of co-operation with a view to extract from it the maximum of good that it might be capable of yielding or so to work it as to pursue the policy of rejection to its logical conclusion and secure the wrecking of the constitution.

It cannot be disputed that the Constitution Act has been almost universally condemned as gravely defective and falling far short of our expectations, not to speak of our aspirations. But exception is taken to the statement that the Act constitutes a retrogression and that it would have been far better for the country to remain under the present constitution, highly unsatisfactory as it is, than to be under the new one, in so far as it is likely to act as an obstacle in the path of our future political progress. In this connection, it may be conceded that so far as the provinces at least are concerned, the new constitution records some advance over the present. But is that any reason for our enthusing over the measure or giving up our spirit of opposition to it simply on the ground that we must submit to the inevitable? I do not think that any of our eminent politicians, who took part in incessant constitutional discussions for over six years, did so with the expectation of being ultimately forced to rest content with what little has been gained in the provinces.

UGLY DUCKLING.

On the other hand, it need not be assumed that those who have criticised the new Government of India Act as retrograde have done so in complete forgetfulness of some of the progressive features of the future scheme of government for the provinces. But is it any wonder if the multitudinous and all-embracing safeguards, which have been provided in the new scheme both at the centre and in the provinces, have given rise to genuine apprehensions as to the ultimate outcome of its working? Experience of the way in which the Executive has used its powers in the past and of the way in which it is doing so even to-day has not served to pacify any of these fears, but rather to aggravate them. Sir Samuel Hoare might love to describe these safeguards as signposts intended to warn the unwary traveller on the road. The Indian public cannot, however, accept this description, but can only regard the safeguards as definite impediments which, will render what little responsibility that has been conceded wholly nugatory. In the next place, the deliberate refusal to incorporate even in a preamble to the Act, Lord Irwin's explanatory pledge regarding India's political goal and the calculated manner in which the vital problem of the Indianization of the defence forces of the nation has been successfully avoided have further added to the apprehensions entertained by the public regarding British intentions towards this country. But apart from those sins of omission and commission the large unilateral concession to all kinds of vested interests, which the scheme embodies, contains potentialities of a grave character. The Act is disliked not only for what it does not confer, but also for what it is likely to turn out. Instead of being an instrument of our political salvation, it may become a barrier in the path of our progress in the future. The Act may after all prove to be an ugly duckling that is never destined to grow into a swan.

But assuming all this to be true, it is argued that practical considerations demand that India should work the new Government of India Act in a spirit of co-operation with a view to make it a success. It is claimed that this policy might benefit the country in many ways. In the first place it might enable Indians to get over at least some of the safeguards so as to render them innocuous or even inoperative. Secondly, by following a policy of least resistance, it will be easier to carry out substantial measures of amelioration, which otherwise it might not be possible to do. Thirdly, it is said that this method will enable Indians to expose still further some of the patent defects in the political scheme that has been forced upon the country, so that it will be easier to demand a modification of the constitution earlier than can be otherwise expected. Lastly, it is suggested, though not quite openly, that by so working the constitution, seriously defective as it is, the country shall prove its fitness for further reforms.

LESSON OF HISTORY.

Now all these and such other arguments would be plausible if only we were to forget the history of our long political struggle, the experience of the working of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms and the recent history in connection with the Round Table Conferences. The British Government having chosen to foist on India a constitution that is disapproved by Indian public opinion, no responsibility is cast on Indians to prevent its failure. The supporters of the constitution have frequently tried to maintain that the scheme that is now passed into law is the only one based on a substantial measure of agreement and that it cannot be said that it runs counter to the spirit of the plan on which the Round Table Conference was based and that, therefore, the reforms deserve to get a fair trial in a spirit of mutual good-will and trust. The Joint Memorandum presented by the Indian delegates on the Joint

(Continued on page 61)

B. N. Gokhale.

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Indian & The New Constitution

(Continued from page 60)

Parliamentary Committee, representing different political interests in this country, and the scant respect that was paid to the suggestions it contained, afford a complete refutation of this plea.

The argument that safeguards can be made inoperative if the ministry in power shows a spirit of compromise and concentrates on carrying out a programme of reforms that will substantially benefit the people, conveniently ignores the fact that inspite of the abundant compromising spirit shown by the Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference they practically lost all along the line, the vested interests scoring at every point at the expense of the larger Indian interests. Besides, it is obvious that a defective constitution is bound to act as a constant irritant making it well-nigh impossible for Indians to settle down to steady constructive work. As the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri pointed out in his eloquent speech at the Poona Session of the Liberal Federation last year: "It is human nature all over the world that when a constitution meant to be democratic is of the contrary nature and irks people in a hundred ways in their daily work, they will not settle down to the ordinary social or economic or educational or other ameliorating work, but will spend all their energies in removing the absurd features of their Government. That has been proved over and over again. There would be much to do, much urgent and important work to do. Men, however, will not find it possible to do it till, this, their greatest annoyance, is removed."

The Joint Parliamentary Committee admitted, in its report, that full weight should be given to the testimony of the Statutory Commission that "inspite of the disadvantages of dyarchy on which the Commission laid such stress, Indians have shown, since 1921, a marked capacity for the orderly conduct of parliamentary business, a capacity which has grown steadily with the growth of their experience." India has, however, hardly any reason to feel grateful for the manner in which its proved political capacity has been rewarded in the shape of the new Government of India Act!

The country would be, therefore, justified in refusing to adopt an attitude which would in the least imply reconciling itself to the unsatisfactory features of the constitution. Having denounced it as unacceptable, self-respect demands that a proper spirit of resistance should be maintained as will prevent unnecessary side-tracking of issues and the perpetuation of the evil aspects of this scheme to the detriment of the nation's interests. This is not difficult of achievement if progressive forces in the country make a supreme effort to sink petty differences and are able to devise some plan of concerted action in the matter of working the constitution.

The Congress has now recognised the necessity of not leaving the legislatures alone lest they be misused by reactionary forces. The only dispute that remains is as to whether a further step should be taken in favour of office acceptance under the new constitution. The example of Mr. De Valera in the Irish Free State proves that parliamentary activity, to be of any effect, has to be pursued to its logical conclusion, and one can only trust that the ultimate decision of the Congress will be in favour of this view, whatever restrictions it might deem fit to impose on its followers in doing so. On the other hand, those who have always pinned their faith in constitutional methods must not hesitate to support recourse to every kind of constitutional expedient available as will, without jeopardizing national interests or alienating friendly elements, enable the country to reach its goal in a reasonable period. If supporters of direct action have unnecessarily belittled constitutional activity and, to that extent, have been responsible for weakening its efficacy, constitutionalists must also share the blame in not exploring all the possibilities of efficient and disciplined working of the constitutional machinery.

It will no doubt be pointed out that British statesmen have made it quite clear that the safeguards provided in the constitution are not mere paper-safeguards, but are bound to be used whenever the occasion requires it. That need not, howeer, make us unduly nervous about deadlocks, provided proper discrimination is shown and the fight against safeguards is raised on matters of principle and with unity of purpose amongst the popular representatives in the Legislatures. The future Governors will not fail to remember in such cases the oft-cited words of Glendower in Shakespeare's Henry IV: "I can call spirits from the vastly deep," to which Hotspur replies: "Why, so can I or so can any man; But will they come when you do call for them."

The history of our political struggle during the last fifty years has shown, as it has done in the case of other countries, that unity and mutual understanding have always enabled us to surmount the difficulties and ward off the dangers that threatened us from time to time. None can deny that, at this critical juncture, the need for some sort of concerted endeavour is admittedly great. The Golden Jubilee of the Congress marks the end of an epoch. Is it too much to hope that the next chapter will begin with better mutual understanding and tolerance amongst the various political parties in the country, even if unity, in a larger sense, it is not possible to achieve?

Berlin-City Of Exhibitions

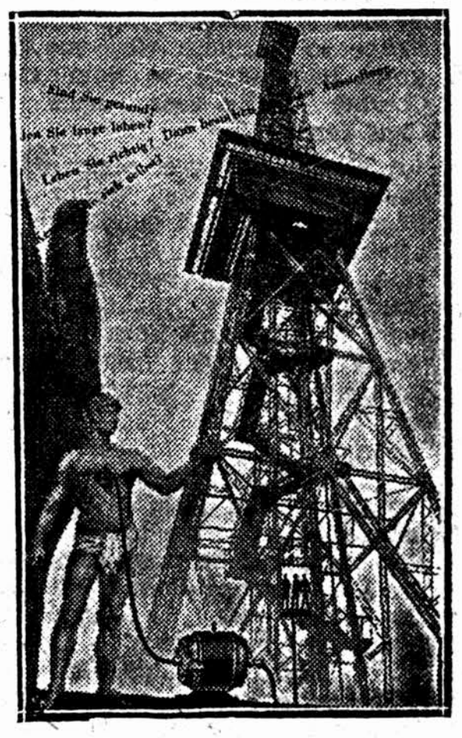
(Continued from page 59)

were given to people, giving an idea of the latest developments in their working. It was a great success from the business point of view and even foreign radio firms were quite satisfied with the results.

A special exhibition is held every year dealing with subjects like "Sun, Air and House for All" which was the subject matter of the exhibition held in 1932; "Woman" in 1933; "the German Nation—the German Workmanship" in 1934 and the "Wonder of Life" which was recently held and was visited by nearly 60,000 persons including about 70,000 foreigners.

GERMAN WORKMANSHIP ON SHOW.

For the first time, the achievements of the National Socialist Government during the first year of its existence were demonstrated in the secial exhibition of 1934—"the German Nation—the German Workmanship". It comprised of a remarkable survey of the Nation's life and a comprehensive review of its productive output during the year in question. A retrospective panorama of the nations development up to the present time was shown, particularly noteworthy being the sections dealing respectively with the Holy Roman Empire, the epoch of Bismarck, and the present day National Socialist State. The Show gave a clear idea to the people of all the different industries of Germany and of its position in the industrial countries of the world.



This chart in "Wonder of Life" exhibition explains the working of the human heart.

"WONDER OF LIFE"

In the "Wonder of Life" exhibition held recently, 'Human Being" was the main topic dealt with aided by life-like electric models, pictures, placards, excellently painted charts, films and magic lantern slides. Everything relating to plant, animal and human life was depicted and the 'laws of life,' 'lessons of life' 'sustenance of life'—all about health, hygiene, race, physical culture and other problems connected with life were properly explained by means of models like "Transparent Human Being" and other ingenious devices. For example the intensity of the action of the heart per day which is equal to 21000 mkg. was demonstrated as being equal to the power required to carry 3 persons in a lift 138m. high (Berlin Radio Tower) as depicted in an illustration elsewhere. One could realise the importance and utility of this exhibition from the fact that various countries such as England, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Poland and others have made enquiries from the exhibition authorities about the material displayed there. The next special exhibition will be held along with the Olympia Sports in 1936 and will depict "Germany" and will deal exhaustively with everything about Germany and Germans.

Realising the value and utility of such exhibitions and technical fairs and its importance from the propaganda point of view, the National Socialist Government has been taking great interest in their organisation and recently a new department has been set up by the Government with Herr Steinecker of the Institute of Economic Propaganda as its head to control and regulate all exhibitions and fairs in Germany.

BACKWARD INDIA.

India is however lagging much behind the civilized world in this respect. It is true that annually certain exhibitions are held, e. g., Delhi Industrial Exhibition, Mysore Dasahra Exhibition, etc., and the Congress and other organisations have been organising Swadeshi and other exhibitions from time to time but all the same one cannot help observing that our organisation in that respect is still in its infancy. Our conception of exhibitions has been too narrow and limited. Exhibitions should not only be attractive and interesting but they should also be educative and informative and should have cultural value. There is an urgent need for such an organisation in India to organise and carry through exhibitions and technical fairs successfully on the most up-to-date lines.

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In Defence Of Dr. Ambedkar : Story Of Allahabad Orthodoxy's Campaign Against Harijan Candidate

(By R. S. Pandit, Bar-at-Law)

December 3rd+polling day—was approaching and Prayag Dutt, the canvasser, tried to speed up the delivery of the candidate's cards.

"Who is this Hari" enquired the Brahman elector, an Advocate of the High Court, "and what is his caste?" Prayag Dutt, canvassing on behalf of the Harijan candidate, replied that the candidate was a Chamer by caste. Thereupon the Advocate spoke in his persuasive manner: "Why don't you Chamars stick to the ancestral work of shoe-making? It should pay well. Why do you want to stand for the municipal election—what can a Chamar do in the Municipal Corporation?"

Prayag Dutt agreed that shoe-making would be profitable work. But he said "We pure Chamars would never have given up the shoe trade but for the fact that in this city there are now a number of mongrel Chamars."

"Who are these mongrel Chamars?" asked the Advocate and Prayag Dutt replied: "A number of Brahmans, Khatris, and Baniyas have set up shops of imported boots and shoes and are making profit by underselling the hard working Chamar in the shoe business."

The elector felt disconcerted and perhaps in order to get rid of the canvasser expressed his willingness to vote for the Harijan candidate.

TRAGIC CONTRAST

The local Congress Committee had decided to help the poor to win a seat during the recent municipal election at Allahabad from the Civil Lines which includes a number of Bastis with hundreds of voters who are for the most part poor manual workers. With its modern roads which serve the houses of the high and mighty, surrounded by gardens and lit with electricity, the Civil Lines area is a contrast to the Bastis of the poor whose huts are taxed by the Municipality which has, however, never shown any anxiety to make a road or provide the poor with water or even oil lamps. During the rains water collects in pits in the dust tracks and little children die by drowning in the very midst of the Bastis.

The nomination of a Harijan candidate from the Civil Lines caused a flutter in the dove-cotes of orthodoxy. While some of the educated and respectable middle class voters took this as a personal affront to their intellectual attainments, others regarded it as a challenge to caste superiority and the sacred principle of private property. The Advocates' Association sensed the coming danger instinctively and some of the learned fraternity asked the writer to explain why the Congress had dared to nominate a Chamer for a seat from the Civil Lines.

A Kashmiri Pandit asserted with vehemence that he would never tolerate a Harijan candidate. His attention was drawn to the fact that caste was immaterial; the candidate was a Kashtkar (farmer), literate and nationalist and was chosen by the local Congress Committee as a straightforward and incorruptible man. Indeed he was personally known to many as a faithful servant of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. But the learned counsel wa sadamant. He said he would be prepared to vote for a Chamer or even a Mehtar if the latter were "reformed" by Islam or Christianity.

SECULAR ISSUE

The issue was thus side-tracked. It was not one of religion nor of caste. It was purely secular. The poor knew where the shoe pinched and it was their right, if they so chose, to elect as a representative from among themselves one who would bring the grievances of the poor and needy before the Municipal Committees and get them redressed as far as possible. The reactions of the so-called high castes and the intellectuals revealed that they were either unconscious of the sufferings of the large numbers of the so-called depressed classes or that they refused to act justly towards masses of the poor born within the fold of Hinduism who were perpetually on the anvil under the blows of a hundred hammers.

The issue involved in Hari's candidature was thus misrepresented. Hari's canvassers included enthusiastic students and some Advocates who had volunteered their services. When they presented his card and appealed to the high caste voters they found that many of them forgot, in their anger, that the candidate was set up by the Congress. One of the Brahman Advocates was amazed that he should have been asked to vote for a Chamar. He tore up the card and threw it in the face of the Advocate canvasser.

At first in the Indian Club it was considered a joke but when the canvassing in favour of Hari, the representative of the working class, became increasingly successful the menace was considered too grave for the "high castes" to ignore it. The tension ended in a storm of opposition in the Civil Lines against the very idea of the candidature of a Chamar.

In the Civil Lines there are two seats for the Non-Muslim constituency which is a joint constituency for Europeans and Indians, Hindus, Christians, Parsees and others. With one solitary exception, about 19 years ago, when a Hindu was returned, the Civil Lines area has been represented heretofore only by Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Christians. The Congress Committee had set up a candidate to contest one of the two seats with the bona fide desire to train the voters among the poor and manual workers to exercise their rights.

ORTHODOXY'S COUNTER-CAMPAIGN

The Hindu Candidates were in the field this year, besides three Christians, for the two seats. Municipal elections had heretofore evoked no enthusiasm in the Civil Lines but this was a dangerous departure. Every house now discussed the pros and cons of this problem and opinion was sharply divided until the orthodox of all kinds combined and determined to reduce the support Hari had already gained by a vigorous campaign of counter canvassing. Single voting for the high caste candidates was resorted to, to secure the defeat of Hari. The substantial support already secured among all classes of voters including Europeans, Parsees, Professors, Doctors, Advocates, Theosophists, Christians and others was thus neutralised. The working classes such as the Kashtkar, the carpenter, the mason, the dhobi, the petty shop-keepers at street corners were easily divided by the agents of the high castes. The poor lacked organization and their support was undermined, without much difficulty, by methods commonly employed in elections. The orthodox and respectable of all sections had combined to save religion and respectability from the menace of the Harijan. And they won.

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India's New Constitution

Distrust Of Ministers In Provinces And At Centre Writ Large

(By P. R. LELE)

The three expressions which every student of the incoming Constitution of India must understand are:—(1) Provincial Autonomy; (2) Responsibility at the centre; and (3) Federation.

As one finds them embodied in the 'Government of India Act' 1935'. They are altogether interdependent. There can be no Federation except of autonomous units and there can be no Provincial Autonomy except under some sort of Federation. And when autonomous units federate there must be some measure of responsibility at the Centre.

PRESENT SYSTEM.

The present system of government in India is an unsystematic evolution which has been going on since the days of the Regulating Act of 1773. All the provisions found in the Parliamentary Statutes passed between that year and the year 1917 which were then in force were consolidated in the Act called "the Government of India Act, 1917", so that it is in that Act that one has to find the main fabric of the Government as it rules to-day.

According to that Act the system of Government of India is unitary. The Governor-General-in-Council has vested in him the superintendence, direction and control of all Governments in India. The Local Governments have certain specified authority but are generally subordinate to the Government of India. The legislative authority of the Indian Legislature extends to all persons, all courts, all places and all things in British India. This system is abrogated by the Government of India Act 1935.

WOULD-BE FEDERATION

Under the provisions of this new Act, autonomous Provincial Governments and Provincial Legislatures with exclusive powers of legislation in respect of certain matters have to be established. These British India Provinces and such of the Indian States as will be willing are to be combined in what will be called the Federation of India.

The powers to be vested in the Federal Government as respects the British India Provinces are laid down in the Act because Parliament has the power to make laws for the whole of British India. But as respects the States that will federate the powers of the Federal Government will be regulated by the provisions of the Instruments of Accession to be signed by the several States. This difference is consequential on the difference between the status of British India Provinces and of Indian States.

The relations existing between the Paramount Power i. e. the British Government and Indian States are "quasi-international in form" and primarily consensual. Even if the consent be not necessarily a free consent, it is necessary for any change in those relations. The Instruments of Accession have, therefore, to be executed to evidence a surrender of power to the Federal Authority by the each Ruler of Indian States.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The establishment of Provincial Autonomy comprises certain legal and constitutional incidents. It also brings about important changes in the constitutional structure.

Each Province will, at least for certain purposes, be exclusively possessed of certain powers. There is to be a number of matters as respects which only the Provincial Legislature shall be competent to legislate, and as respects the same matters the executive authority shall be vested only in the Provincial Government.

The Governor of a Province shall receive powers under the new Act directly from His Majesty and not have to depend on the rules made by the Government of India for the purpose of delegating some powers to Local Governments. Each Provincial Legislature shall be a self-contained legislative unit so that a bill passed by the Chambers of the Provincial Legislature and assented to by the Governor concerned becomes law for the particular Province. It will no more require the assent of the Governor-General.

CORPORATE BODY.

Each Provincial Government will be a body corporate competent in its own name to hold property, make contracts and raise loans. It can sue and be sued. 'The Secretary of State-in-Council' as a body corporate will be dissolved. Each Province will have certain legal rights which it can enforce against other Provinces and even against the Government of India (or Federal Government as it is to be styled in future) through the Federal Court.

For the sake of giving some sort of completeness to Provincial Autonomy the power of promulgating ordinances and making regulations as well as the power of suspending the Constitution in a crisis has been conferred on the Governor of each Province. The Governor will have power to appoint the Advocate-General of the Province. As there are to be no members of the Governor's Executive Council, His Majesty will appoint no official on the executive side.

BICAMERAL HOUSES

The Provincial Legislature in six Provinces will be bicameral. The Upper Chamber in a bicameral Province will be composed of a very small number of members elected by a small number of voters, and a sprinkling of nominated members. For instance, in Bombay, the Upper Chamber will have either 29 or 30 members as compared to the Lower Chamber which will be composed of 175 members. In the Upper Chamber of Bombay there will be three or four nominated members. It will not be wrong to suggest that this provision is made to enable the Governor of a Province to find three or four ministers in any case. The Upper Chamber is styled the Legislative Council. The Provincial Lower Chamber is styled the Legislative Assembly.

POWER OVER PURSE

In the Provinces the annual budget is to be placed before the Legislature. But in bicameral provinces the Upper Chamber can only discuss the Budget. The power of 'voting supply' with its limitation is vested in the Lower Chamber or the Assembly. Financial Bills are to be introduced only in the Lower Chamber.

In respect of other matters, the two Chambers of a bicameral legislature share the legislative power—though unequally. Every Bill must be passed by both Chambers before it can become law. If the two Chambers cannot come to an agreement, the Constitution prescribes a joint sitting of the two Chambers. But even in this respect there is inequality in the status of the two Chambers, because a Bill rejected by the Lower Chamber is not to be referred to a joint sitting.

CHOICE OF MINISTERS

The Provincial Government is to be conducted by the Governor with the advice of a Council of Ministers. Every Minister must be a member of the Legislature and if a particular minister is not a member at the time of appointment he must find a seat in a Chamber of the Legislature within six months or must cease to be a minister. The power of choosing ministers is under the Constitution Act vested in the Governor, but the Instrument of Instructions which His Majesty is to issue to the Governors will contain an instruction to the Governor that he should as far as possible consult the person who would be able to promise a stable majority in the Legislature. This is intended to create a convention of the collective responsibility of

(Continued on page 65)

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Need Of United Front

Congress Must Make Supreme Effort To Achieve Communal Harmony

(By Mujibur Rahman)

The spread of education in India, coupled with the activities of the Indian National Congress, has brought about a consciousness among the people, that is responsible for assertion of rights not merely by the people as a whole but also by the classes, sections and communities composing the people. The Congress is now faced with the difficulty of reconciling the differences between the classes and communities, which its own activities have to a certain extent brought about, in order that the country may make united efforts for the attainment of its destined goal.

CHANGE IN POLICY.

At a time when for all practical purposes India was politically dormant the Congress was ushered into existence by a few patriotic Indians and several English friends of India, being dissatisfied with the state of things then prevailing in the country and with the object of giving expression to their views and opinions in regard to the administration of the land. What was originally a mere deliberative body meeting only once a year and passing resolutions, demanding administrative changes and reforms and putting forward petty claims, such as separation of judicial and executive, functions, gradual Indianisation of the services, etc., has by degrees developed into a powerful organization working throughout the year with the object of the attainment of Swaraj or Independence by peaceful and legitimate means.

Its method of work has undergone changes. The days of petitions and prayers were followed some fifteen or sixteen years ago by those of self-exertion, self-help and self-reliance. But whatever the method of work or the policy of the Congress has been, its activities, together with the spread of modern education, have in process of time brought about consciousness among the people in a progressively increasing degree.

TASK OF CONCILIATION

Now, not only the people as a whole but every class and section thereof are more or less conscious of their rights and liberties, though unfortunately many of them are not awake to the responsibilities that the enjoyment of rights involves. On account of the prevalence of class, sectional and communal consciousness the task of the politicians to bring about a situation that may be helpful to the presentation of a united front to the powers that be, for the purpose of achievement of the object, has become extremely difficult. The Congress being the chief and most powerful political organization in the land the task of reconciliation of the divergent elements devolves mainly upon it but so far it has proved to be unequal to the task.

Swaraj can be attained by one or the other of two means either by armed rebellion or by presentation of a united front by the people as a whole so that the British Government and the British Parliament may be constrained not to deny any longer to India what is her birthright. The people of India have neither the inclination nor the means to rise in rebellion. So the first alternative is to be ruled out. As for the second, it may be brought within the range of practical politics if the leaders of the different communities and classes prove to be sufficiently patriotic.

CURE FOR INDIA'S POVERTY

It is rather late in the day to dilate on the need for Swaraj. It may be said in one word that the economic salvation of poverty stricken India is impossible so long as India is tied to the apron-strings of Great Britain, and, for the matter of that, of any foreign country, as a dependency. The condition of the teeming millions of her agricultural and labouring classes who form the overwhelming majority in the country and a considerable section of whom cannot have two full meals a day even in normal years cannot possibly be improved—of course, to the desirable extent—so long as India is not politically free.

The leaders of the people seem to have understood it but they have not, I am afraid, fully realized it. The services that the Congress has rendered to the country are immense but it has halted at a time when its good offices are sorely needed for the settlement of class and communal differences.

HARMFUL CAUTION

It is not suggested that the Congress alone can do this but the Congress can take the lead in the matter and seek the co-operation of others to gain the object. I am not oblivious of the fact that the Hindu Mahasabha has acted in a manner that has made the Congress unpopular with the communally-minded Hindus and the Congressmen who may themselves be true nationalists have become over-cautious and avoid doing anything that may bring about further unpopularity. But the caution that the Congress has been exercising will, I am afraid, ultimately be not only not paying but positively harmful to the cause of the country, which it must have at heart. The Congress should therefore take courage in both hands and signalize the happy year of its Golden Jubilee by making one supreme effort for the settlement of the inter-communal differences and the solution of the communal problem.

If Swaraj is to be attained this is, I think, the only way to the goal. Possibly there is some other way but I for myself have not yet found it. It may be said in some quarters that communal differences will cease if the people become socialists. In that case there may be no such thing as communal problem. Suppose this view is quite correct. But if we Indians shall have to wait for the attainment of Swaraj till the time when the country as a whole is pervaded by socialistic ideas and thoughts, then, I am afraid, we shall have to wait for—well, I do not know how long.

Majibur Rahman.

It may be contended that if the Congress and all other political organizations, communal or otherwise, arrive at a settlement of communal differences, come to an agreement and put forward a united demand for Swaraj some non-entities may appear on the scene and declare that the settlement is not acceptable to them and then the British Government may take advantage of this jarring note and say that as the settlement arrived at is not unanimous it cannot be acted upon by the Government. But when a nation is essentially united it will require to be treated as such. Those who taking the advantage of any camouflage will try to do otherwise will act at their peril.

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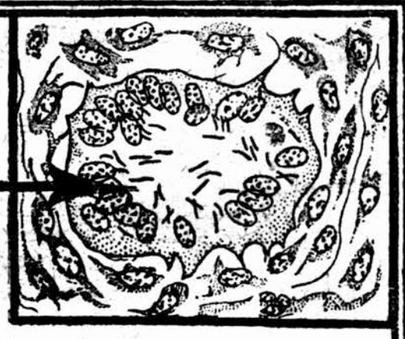

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India's New Constitution

(Continued from page 63)

the Ministers to the Legislature.

The Governor is, however, not bound to accept the advice of his Ministers in every case. There are matters which he has to deal with and in respect of which he is a despot. The Governor has to exercise certain functions in his discretion, i.e., without seeking any advice. He has, besides, got certain special responsibilities to discharge, in discharging which he may seek and receive advice but shall 'exercise his individual judgment.'

SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

These special responsibilities cover a wide field of administrative and governmental activities. The word 'safeguards' is well-known: these special responsibilities virtually correspond to 'safeguards.' Peace and tranquillity, discrimination against British individuals and British Capital and protection of Services are among the most important safeguards. The power of the Governor in connection with his special responsibilities is a definite curtailment of the powers of the ministers and also marks out a part of Provincial affairs in connection with which the Provincial Government is not autonomous.

While the Governor exercises his discretion or individual judgment he is subordinate to the Governor-General. Only in so far as the Governor is intended to act on the advice of his ministers does he represent the Government of an autonomous Province.

NON-VOTABLE ITEMS

The Provincial Assembly has got certain Budgetary and fiscal powers. But there are items of expenditure in every Province which are "charged on the revenues of the Province'. These items are not subject to the vote of the Assembly. Even the salaries of the ministers are "charged on the revenues of the Province". The salaries of Public Services are another item so charged. Indeed, it is roughly calculated that 75 per cent of the Provincial expenditure as it is being at present incurred will on the establishment of Provincial Autonomy, be "charged on the revenues" of Provinces. This percentage may be changed only if expenditure on nation building departments is increased, and for finding the required additional money taxation is increased.

The control of Services is vested in the Provincial Governor and not in the council ministers. Even in the selection and appointment of future members of Services, the voice of the ministers can only be faintly heard. The Governor will be entitled to have his own fullfledged Secretariat, the cost of which cannot even be discussed by the Provincial Legislature. The Governor can in his discretion preside at the meetings of the council of ministers and is empowered to ask for information in respect of the whole field of Provincial affairs. On the other hand ministers have no right to ask for information regarding matters that the Governor administers in his discretion.

DISTRUST WRIT LARGE

The Ministers are to be taken in charge of "law and order" but will not be in a position to demand information regarding (alleged) terrorist or revolutionary activities which may be in the possession of police officials or any other officers. It is not a flourish of language to maintain that distrust of ministers is writ large on the face of the New Constitution.

FEDERATION

These Antonomous Provinces and those Indian States, whose Rulers execute Instruments of Accession, will form the Federation of India. The head of the Federal Government is the Governor-General representing His Majesty. He is to have a Council of Ministers to "aid and advise" him in the administration of Federal affairs, except in so far as he is to exercise his functions in his discretion or according to his individual judgment. Like the Provincial Ministers, the Federal Ministers are also to be drawn from the Legislature but unlike the Provincial Ministers there is a limit to the number of Federal Ministers who shall not be more than ten.

DYARCHY AT CENTRE.

Dyarchy in a familiar term. The Provincial Governments are at present Dyarchic. The Federal Government will hereafter be a dyarchy. But the word 'dyarchy' stinks in the nostrils of certain people and has not been given a place in the New Act. There will be entire departments (and the most important ones) to be administered by the Governor-General in his discretion. They are (1) Defence, (2) Ecclesiastical Affairs and (3) External Affairs except the relations of India with Dominions.

Here it ought to be noted before proceeding that the Political Department has been placed outside the Federation altogether and hereafter the Governor-General shall have nothing to do with Indian States except in so far as they are part and parcel of the Federation of India. The Governor-General has the power to appoint not more than three counsellors to assist him in administering these reserved departments.

INVULNERABLE PRESERVES.

Besides these reserved departments the Governor-General has special responsibilities which are a curtailment of the powers of the Council of Ministers inasmuch as the Governor-General is to exercise his individual judgment whenever any one or more of the special responsibilities are involved. The most important of them are the 'financial stability and credit of the Federal Government.' The other very important ones are the interests of Services and the prevention of discrimination against British individuals and companies as well as against British goods.

To help him in the discharge of his special responsibility, to safeguard the finance and credit, the Governor-General can appoint his financial adviser. The currency and coinage and manipulation of exchange are handed over to the Reserve Bank of India. Over and above this the Railways, which are at presesnt under the control of the Governor-General-in-Council, are to be handed over to an independent Statutory body to be called "The Federal Railway Authority."

When all these governmental affairs and activities are put together and then are deducted from the present functions of the Governor-General-in-Council, i.e., the Government of India, an idea can be had of the field in which the Council of Ministers will be entitled to tender advice to the Governor-General. It is in the Federal Council of Ministers that one has to find 'responsibility at the Centre.' Responsibility at the Centre is, therefore, subject to all those limitations from which the Council of Ministers suffers. All that has been said about the comparative position of the Governor and his Council of Ministers applies 'a fortiori' to the comparative position of the Governor-General and his Council of Ministers.

STATE NOMINATIONS

There is one more significant feature of the Federal structure. While the Provincial Legislatures are almost entirely composed of elected representatives, the Federal Legislature will be composed of elected representatives of British India and members nominated by Rulers of Federated States. The Federal Legislature is composed of the Council of State and the Federal Legislative Assembly.

The former—which is the Upper Chamber—will, when fully constituted, contain 260 members. Out of them only 150 will be elected members. The Assembly or the Lower Chamber, when fully con-

(Continued on page 67)

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SHOULD IT BE CHRISTMAS 1939?

Birth Of Christ Placed Four Years Too Late

We call this Christmas, 1935, but there is little doubt it ought to be Christmas, 1939, because the birth of Christ, when the Calendar of the Christian Era was first made, was placed four years too late, observes a writer in "Tit-Bits." The grounds for this modern readjustment are not all historical, although they are mainly so. One of the most remarkable is astronomical. Kepler, the great mathematical astronomer, calculated backwards in time, and found that, about four years before the beginning of our Era, as now accepted, there occurred a remarkable conjunction of the planets Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn in Pisces. Taken in consideration with historical data, it is not a far-fetched conclusion that this conjunction accounts for the beautiful story, the theme of many Christmas carols, of the Star of the East which led the Wise Men, the Magi, the Astrologers, to Bethlehem in search of a newly-born King destined to great distinction and vast empire.

Also a certain eclipse of the moon in 4 B.C., and the Passover which took place a little later in the same year, exactly places the death of Herod, which the gospel story declares took place during the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt whilst Jesus was a very young baby.

THE HOLY MONTH

December derives its name from the fact that it was the tenth month in the old Roman Calendar. The Saxons called it "winter-monath," but after their conversion to Christianity this was changed to Halig-monath, or Holy Month, in honour of the nativity of Christ.

Many queer customs are observed all over the world at the beginning of the month, one of the oddest being that at Craig-madden, Stirlingshire, where there is a triangular hole beneath a number of Druidical stones. Women who can crawl through this believe that they will avoid dying childless. Curiously enough, a similar custom prevails in the Temple of Malabar Point, Bombay, where there is a narrow opening in the rocks. Men who squeeze through are supposed to leave their sins behind, while women believe that they will conceive children.

STRANGE GIFTS

The custom of giving presents at Christmas-tide is older even than Christmas itself. And the oldest known pre--Christmas gift was a kilt! These were not given by Scotsmen, but by Egyptians, 4,000 years ago at the feast of Horus, which falls at precisely the same period. It was a time of rejoicing, and the kilts were strung on palm trees, the forerunner of the modern Christmas tree! The most expensive Christmas gift must surely be the doll worth £20,000, the famous "Rambino" in the Church of Ara Coeli, Rome. Made from the wood of an olive tree growing on the Mount of Olives, it is swathed in gold, silver, and tissue, and studded with jewels. Symbolic of the Christ-child, it is an object of veneration. But the oddest gift of all was that of R. L. Stevenson, the writer, who legally gave his own birthday to a little girl as a Christmas present. She was the daughter of H. C. Ide, U.S. Land Commissioner at Samoa, and always complained that her birthday fell on Christmas Day, and deprived her of a birthday gift.

SATAN'S FESTIVAL.

The fifth of December, Krampus Eve, is a great festival in Vienna. Open-air ice rinks, theatres, ballrooms and houses are adorned with giant figures of Krampus and St. Nicholas, the bishop, who is their Santa Claus. At seven o'clock, all children must be at home. There, a friend of the family, disguised as Krampus, the Devil, a huge cane in his hand, recites the sins of the children during the past year. When all is grief and confusion, the father of the family enters, robed as the bishop. He banishes Krampus and restores happiness with a case of sweets. Leopold's Day, shortly afterwards, is another great occasion. Hundreds of thousands of all classes tramp to the old Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburgh, founded by St. Leopold, where they fight for the right to slide down the side of the world's largest wine-barrel, capable of holding 12,000 gallons.

Sinister History Behind Mistletoe

Why It Is Hung On High And Not Allowed To Touch Floor

To-day, nobody stalking a pretty girl at a Christmas party, armed with a sprigg of mistletoe, gives a thought to the sinister history of the pale-green plant with the ghost-like berries.

Yet mistletoe was once associated with evil. (writes Mr. George Godwin in the "Tit Bits".)

There are many reasons why this was so. It used to be said that the Cross was made from mistletoe wood, and simple folk in some parts of France still believe it. But the sinister story goes back much farther than that.

When the great god Odin ruled over the Norse folk with his queen the goddess Freya, he named their son Baldur, for he was so beautiful that the people called him the Sun God.

One day Baldur came to his father and said: "I have had a terrible dream. I dreamed that I lay dead on the ground."

Odin was alarmed for his son's safety. But it was the mother wit of Freya that produced a soothing solution to the problem.

"If we make all animals and birds and even fishes swear not to touch our boy, he will be safe".

It seemed a good idea to Odin, and he at once secured the necessary oaths.

But presently Baldur came again, complaining of the same terrible dream. And once more it was his mother who devised a way out.

"We forgot", she said, "to obtain promises from the trees, the plants, the stones and the minerals."

So these inanimate things were then called on by Odin to swear never to harm his son. They promised, and now all seemed well.

Love Restores Life

But Odin had an enemy, Loki, the god of evil. He hated Baldur and wanted nothing better than to bring grief to his parents by slaying him. Loki new that one plant had never made the necessary oath. That plant was the mistletoe.

So Loki went and cut a branch of mistletoe and made an arrow. Going to the blind god Hothur, he placed bow and arrow in his hand.

"Now, though you are blind," he said, "you shall shoot this arrow straight, with my help."

He then waited his time, and seeing Baldur pass upon his way, caused the blind god to shoot at him. Baldur fell, mortally wounded.

When she saw her son lying dead, Freya wept and she continued to weep and nothing could comfort her. At last, so much did she weep, mouring her beloved son, that her love and her tears restored him to life.

When that happened the people dedicated the mistletoe to Freya, the goddess whose love had brought life out of death.

"But", they added, "this plant, now sacred, must never touch the earth, for the earth is the realm of the evil Loki."

And that is why, according to legend, the mistletoe never sets its root in the earth, but grows above it from the branchess of the oak.

In ancient Britain, the mistletoe played an important part in the religion of the Druids. The Druids believed that the god lived in the oak and that he demanded blood. Because it lived upon the oak, the mistletoe was sacred.

In their rites the blood sacrifice was first made to the tree-god. Then the mistletoe was cut down with golden sickles. But it was never allowed to touch the ground.

These legends explain our present-day custom of always hanging the mistletoe.

In Wiltshire people say that if the mistletoe is allowed to touch the floor it will bring bad luck. In Derbyshire they mix holly with it because holly is considered to be a sacred plant.

If you go to church on Christmas morning, you will find no mistletoe. It is forbidden.

The reason for this rule is that when the sea rovers visited our shores from the North they celebrated the festival of Thor about Christmas time, and used mistletoe. The Church, therefore, still regards as having pagan associations.

There is a proper way of kissing under the mistletoe, though many people do not observe it. Until a century ago, the custom was first to count the berries on a sprigg. As each couple kissed, they plucked two away. When all were gone no more kissing was allowed.

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India's New Constitution

(Continued from page 65)

stituted, will contain 375 members. Out of them 250 only will be elected members.

The Council of Ministers will be collectively responsible to the whole Legislature i.e. when collective responsibility will be established. If the membership of the two Chambers is added together, you get 400 elected as against 235 nominated members. Ministers will have to be drawn from these nominated members also, which requirement will indicate the general character of the Federal Council of Ministers.

COUNCIL OF STATE'S WIDE POWERS.

Unlike the Upper Chamber of a Provincial bicameral legislature, the Council of State has real powers. Even the budget is subject to their vote, with this minor qualification that the demands for grants and financial bills shall have to be initiated in the Assembly. In case of disagreement between the two Chambers of the Federal Legislature, provision is made for a joint sitting. Owing to its strength, and particularly owing to the weightage given to nominated members in the Upper Chamber, it differs in effectiveness from the Upper Chamber of a bicameral provincial legislature. Even a bill passed by the Council of State and rejected by the Assembly has to be referred to a joint sitting. In a nutshell the two Chambers of the Federal Legislature are almost co-equal in the legislative as well as the financial domain.

MILITARY OCTOPUS.

Like the Provincial Budget the Federal Budget also contains items of expenditure "charged on the revenues of the Federation," which are not to be submitted to the vote of the Chambers, with this difference that much larger percentage of the Federal expenditure is so charged than of the Provincial one. Everyone knows what the military Octopus devours and all expenditure for the same is "charged on the revenues" of the Federation. It will be an interesting investigation to find what percentage of the Federal expenditure is really subject to the vote of the Legislature.

The Services are not subject to the control of Ministers.

DOLES TO MINISTERS.

The control exercised by the Legislature on the expenditure is extremely limited. The Reserve Bank and Railways are altogether outside the control of the ministers The legislative measures, which cannot be introduced except with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, are numerous. Like the Governor, the Governor-General is entitled to appoint a fullfledged secretariat. While the Governor-General has authority to preside over meetings of the Council of Ministers, the Ministers cannot claim to know about the consultations between the Governor-General and his counsellors. While the Ministers can be kept in the dark as to the happenings in certain important departments, the Governor-General can claim to know everything about all departments. No two departments can be as important as Defence and External Affairs, and the Ministers must content themselves with such information as the Governor-General in his generosity may be pleased to dole out. The Council of Ministers cannot do anything for the Indianisation of Defence Services. That is 'responsibility at the Centre.'

If in the Provincial Government distrust of ministers is writ large, in the Federal Government distrust of Ministers is writ much larger.

The Legislative powers of the Governor-General are naturally more extensive than of the Governor. The Governor-General has the power of promulgating Ordinances and enacting Governor-General's Acts. He has also the power of suspending the Federal Constitution in case of crisis.

In so far as the Governor-General Acts in his discretion or exercises his individual judgment he is subject to the control of the Secretary of State.

The Federation is a body corporate with juridical personality. It can hold property, make contracts and raise loans. It can sue and be sued. The Council of India is abolished and there is nobody outside India which can control the revenues of India.

FUTURE SECRETARY OF STATE

The Secretary of State as the one and necessary channel between His Majesty and the Government of India disappears. The powers of His Majesty directly flow to the Governor-General and the Governor of each Province. But as it has already been pointed out, the Governor-General is subordinate to him in so far as the Governor-General acts in his discretion or exercises his individual judgment. Similarly the Governor of each province is, as far as he acts in his discretion or exercises his individual judgment, subordinate to the Governor-General in his discretion.

In this way the control of the Secretary of State in matters of important State policy remains. Besides, the Secretary of State remains the ultimate controller of Public Services. His power to recruit the three most important Services remains unaffected. And, to use a familiar term, they make the steel frame of the Government of India.

POWERS OF INTERFERENCE

The Secretary of State is to have the power of recruiting military services as well as of making appointments to the new Secretariat of the Governor-General . Every safeguard in the New Constitution is evidence of the power of the Secretary of State to interfere. And as the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation is the special responsibility of the Governor-General. The Secretary of State can have his say in connection therewith.

The appointment of the first financial adviser is to be made by the Governor-General in his discretion and the Secretary of State has the power of directing the appointment of a particular individual as the first financial adviser of the Governor-General. Therefore, the power of the Secretary of State to control the finances of India remains though it may not appear on the surface.

THE FEDERAL COURT

There will be a Federal Court which is an essential element in a Federal Constitution. To quote from the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report: "It is at once the interpreter and guardian of the Constitution and a tribunal for the determination of disputes between the constituent units of the Federation."

It will originally sit in Delhi and will have original jurisdiction in respect of disputes to which the parties are the units of the Federation, or, the Federation and one or more of the units. It will also have appellate jurisdiction in respect of cases in which the interpretation of the Constitution and validity of Federal or Provincial laws are at issue.

The Federal Court can also be given additional appellate jurisdiction which can make it the supreme appellate court for British India in civil causes. The Federal Court is not to have any jurisdiction to hear criminal appeals.

I, C. S. JUDGES

Members of the I. C. S. are to be entitled to be appointed as judges of the Federal Court. Indians asked for a law requiring judges of the highest courts to be recruited from the Bar and for a court of criminal appeal for the whole of British India. Both these demands could have been met in the constitution of the Federal Court but have been turned down. Not only that. The rule requiring that Chief Justices of High Courts established by Letters patent have to be members of the Bar is abrogated so that hereafter a judge belonging to I. C. S. can be appointed even to the office of a Chief Justice of a Chartered High Court. And the salututary powers of superintendence over subordinate courts which vest in the existing High Courts are to be curtailed to the detriment of the people.

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AND SAMUEL SPAKE

A Chapter From The Modern Testament

(By G. L. M.)

And Samuel spake all these words, saying

2. I am the Law-Giver thy Deliverer which have brought thee out of Period of Dyarchy, out of the House of Bondage.

3. Thou shalt have no other constitutions before me.

4. Thou shalt not make unto thee any models or any likeness of any government that is in the earth where our territories are painted red nor in the heavens above where our airships fly nor in the water Britain rules supreme.

5. Thou shalt not bark even if my caravan passes on, for I thy deliverer am a most strong and jealous and constitutional deliverer visiting the iniquity of the children on the fathers and unto the third and fourth ancestry of them that flout me.

6. And bestowing favours and jobs and titles unto hundreds of them that love me and co-operate with me in accordance with my commandments.

7. Thou shalt not take the title of my Act in vain; for my successor and his successor unto several Successors in office will not hold him guiltless that taketh away the title or the preamble of my Act.

8. Remember the safeguards and keep them sacrosanct.

9. Four hundred and fifty-one sections (and fifteen schedules) thou shalt remember and then do thy ligitimate work.

10. But the eight special responsibilities are of thy Government-General and in them thou shalt not meddle, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy mother-in-law, nor thy chaprasi nor thy chauffeur nor thy cow nor goat nor thy visitors whom thou might lawfully harbour.

11. For, four hundred and fifty-one sections (and fifteen schedules) I the Law-Giver made for thee and thine princes and people but the special responsibilities are for the discretion and individual judgement of thy supreme Governors: wherefore the Law-Giver blessed the safeguards and parliament hallowed it.

12. Honour thy public servants as thou honoureth thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long outside the prison which thy rulers provide for thee.

13. Thou shalt not defend thy country.

14. Thou shalt not decide who are thy enemies.

15. Thou shalt not control the purse of thy own people.

16. Thou shalt not bear any unreciprocal grudge against thy overseas neighbour nor shalt thou vote along with thine own neighbour if he but professes another faith.

17. Thou shall not covet thy own trade nor crafts nor goods but rely on the unadulterated goodwill of thy competing trustees.

18. And all the people saw the thundering speeches and the lightning wit and the noise of debates and mountain in labour; and when the people saw it, they bowed in silent reverence.

19. And ye shall not make things of silver neither shall ye make things of gold for even distant China has abandoned silver and the world needs your gold.

20. And thou shalt work this mine constitution will all thy heart and brains (if any) and shalt offer to the army and to the services thy federal offerings and thy provincial offerings, thy land revenue and thy incometax. In all files when I record my name, I will come unto thee with a red-tape and I will bless thee.

21 And thou shalt not obstruct this work of mine nor wreck it that thy obstinacy and lawlessness be not discovered therein.

22. And so saying Samuel vanished in the air (by the Impeiral Airways) and went to minister to the needs of other lands.

NEED FOR PROPAGANDA ABROAD

Dr. S. S. Aeed Mahomedi on behalf of himself and others send the following message from London:

"On the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress, we send Fraternal Greetings to our brethern in India and assurances that in the National task of achieving independence, we offer to the best of our abilities, help and co-operation by vigorously carrying on in this part of the world, the much needed work of counter-acting the anti-Indian propaganda, as well as of active propaganda in the service of our motherland."

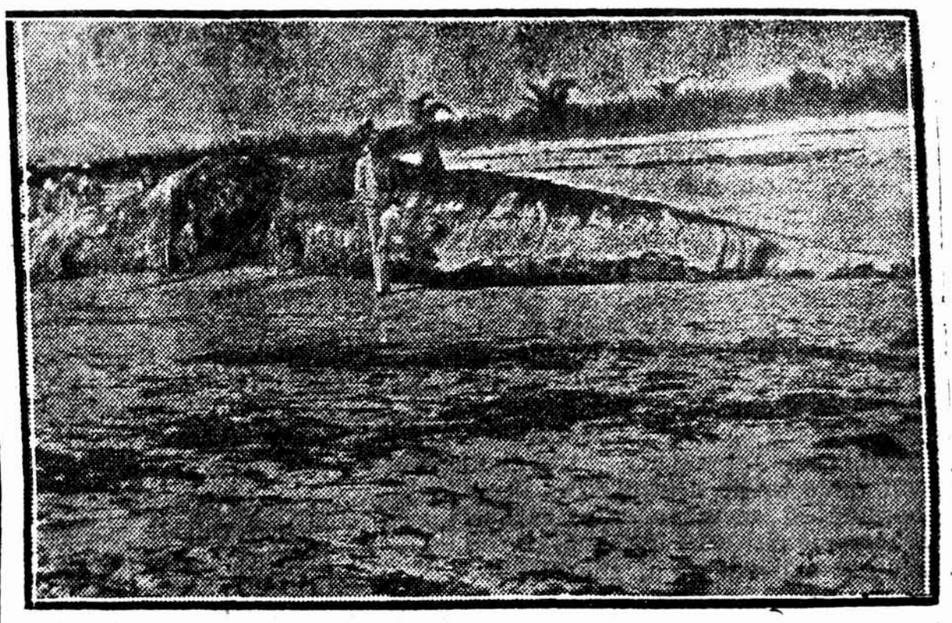
"We ardently hope that this occasion would be the rallying point from minimising the international differences and carrying united fight of the National liberation, in which we firmly believe, the victory is ours soon."

* * * *

An actor was given a very small part in a piece in which a famous tragedian was playing. The only lines he had to speak were, "My lord, the coach is waiting." But having spoken these, he continued: "And permit me to observe that the man who raises his hand against a woman, save in the way of kindness, is unworthy of the name of briton."

Applause followed this sentence, but after the show the tragedian remonstrated with him for introducing it.

"I'm sorry if I have annoyed you," he replied, "but it's my benefit next week, and I must make myself popular with the audience."



This giant carcase of a whale was washed off last month on the beach of Dar-es-Salaam harbour. It stretched forth some fifty-five feet and was seven feet high. Its middle portion was cut off. It is believed that the creature might have come under the propellers of some ship sailing mid-ocean and met its tragic death. The local health authorities found themselves deviceless as to how to dispose of the carcase which was emitting unpleasant gases. Tenders were invited from the public, when one for sh.1,500|- was passed for its disposal. This was the biggest fish ever witnessed by the public on the coast of East Africa.

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THE HARIJAN PROBLEM

Change Of Religion Will Worsen Position By Robbing Them Of Political Status

(BY LAKHMIDAS ROWJEE TAIRSEE).

Dr. Ambedkar to-day holds the field. He is at the wicket; but I am afraid if he plays, as he is doing, he will get stumped out. I admit at once and frankly th his speech at Yeola is a cry of an anguished soul, and should be taken as a flaming appeal to the Hindu community to set its house in order. His is a sphinx question to the Hindu community; she must answer or be eaten up. To that extent every Hindu, and every Indian, will sympathise and agree with Dr. Ambedkar.

But,—and it is not a small but,—when Dr. Ambedkar talks of he and the Harijans changing their religion, he uses a big stick and threat which, though full of sound and fury, may amount to nothing. Religion is a condition of soul and is neither easily changed nor put on and put off to suit conveniences social, economic and political. Every religion is precious and thus above worldy considerations; or it is a matter of convenience and, therefore whatever its price, has no value.

NEARLY STUMPED OUT

Dr. Ambedkar is a shrewd politician. Upto the time he p at Yeola he had fine innings behind him; but there he seems to have left the crease and was nearly stumped out. He claims that he is out for religious status and equality and self-respect. May I ask which religion, whatever cloudy idealism it may have, has no inequality in practice? Take the case of the Negroes in America. Though Christians by religion. their colour follows them, and they have no rights other than their colour gives them, and they have no rights as Christians. They are not better off for being Christians, and will be none the worse if they gave up Christianity.

But on supposition, that change of religion did make any difference, I would like to know how this will make the conditions of the Harijans, economically and politically better? The disabilities of Harijans are rooted in their economic condition mostly. Economics take no count of emotional enthusiasm and their own rigid laws. Change of religion does not affect these laws.

SECURE THE CHEQUE-BOOK

Hence if Harijans are to better their condition, their economic condition must be improved, and when their economic condition will improve, the priest will be after them and not they after the priest. Gates of temples will open not to petition and request, but to the cheque-book. To those of my thinking, trying to seek admission to temples is a wrong move. When we want to give up temples and thus destroy the poisonous and parasitical influence of the priest, they seek it. Their knocking at temples for the gates to open is, to my mind, bad tactics.

POLITICAL STATUS OF "AMBED SINGH"

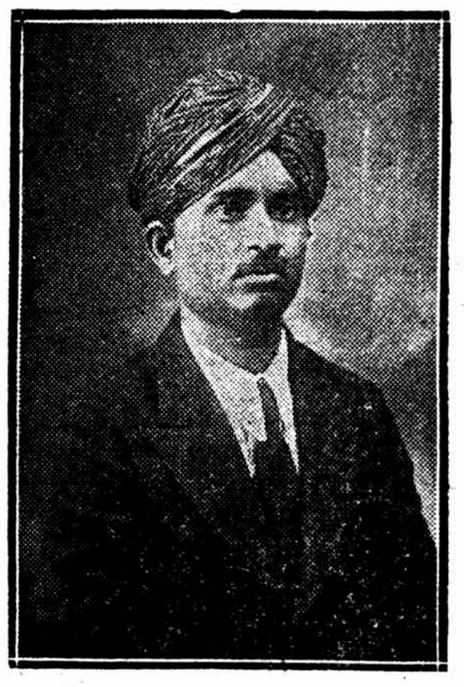
As regards their political status, as soon as this is secured they will have their existence. to which others will look up with respect, and they will politically come by their own by selling themselves at the highest price,—I use the word 'selling' in a complimentary sense. Mahatma Gandhi and the Government have given them political status, larger than they would have had as temple-going Hindus, larger than their number justifies, and thus they have a lever to move others in their cause. By changing their religion, do they want to lose that lever, which they have hardly used? If Harijans take to the Yeola prescription, and change over to other religion, their political position will be worse, and how thereby they would be economically better is hard to understand.

If Dr. Ambedkar becomes a Sikh, as Ambed Singh, he will have no more rights than a Singh; as a Muslim, he will have no more rights than Abdulla Ambedkar. I say this to point out that it will be a psychological mistake for the Harijans to give up their to-be-soon-acquired political status, before they have acquired it and enjoyed it. Mahatma Gandhi and the Poona Pact have put them on the way to their acquiring political existence which, but for their untouchability, they would have never had.

POLITICAL BLESSING

As at present situated, their untouchability is a political blessing. It is because they are untouchables that they have this political right. As soon as they attain to touchability, they will reach the stage of political equals and will be a few out of the many of the community they join. What I have said above are but indications, and in closing, I would like to add and write over the door of every stronghold of revolt—the motto which is over the gate of the castle in the folk-tales:

"Be bold, be bold," but not "too bold," to which those not agreeing with me will probably and promptly retort, with Hamlet: "Be not too tame, neither," and perhaps both may be right.



Sjt. Ramakrishna Jaju, well-known Congress worker of Sholapur who had been jailed thrice during the C. D. Movement and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment during Martial Law regime, has been elected President of Sholapur Dt. Congress Committee.

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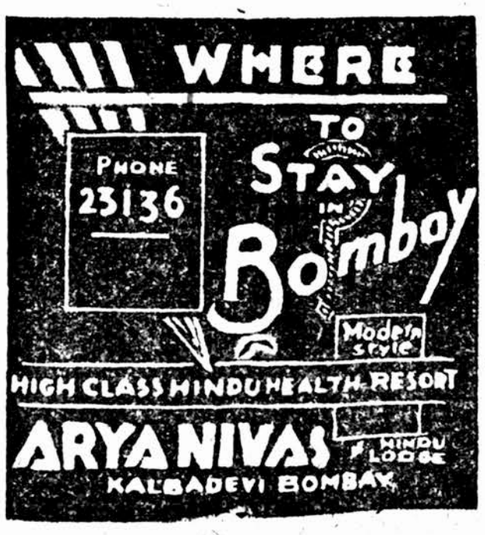

CONGRESS AND THE PROBLEM OF SWARAJ

A Survey Of Half A Century's National Struggle

(By D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court.)

Mr. Gandhi has asked whether there is a solitary instance in the history of a subject-nation regaining its liberty by a constitutional method. I ask, "Can it be achieved even by his" The politicians of future may be left to grapple with these problems. If Mr. Gandhi had not come forward with his nostrum of non-co-operation the whole of politics would very likely have been different. Indian nationalists would have been a united body, having brought to bear on Government a pressure which would have been different from what it is at present."

C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

Among the numerous institutions inaugurated in India under the direct influence of British Rule, the Indian National Congress holds the first rank. In spite of its occasional lapses and aberrations, it occupies a deep and abiding place in the heart of the Indian people. I worshipped in this temple of Nationalism for nearly two decades, until in 1920, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, a radical departure in its goal and methods was made. I have since worked for the political salvation of the motherland through the National Liberal Federation. Fortunately, the Congress has, since last year, seen the error of its ways, and suspended the movement of Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience "sine die." Mahatma Gandhi has solemnly avowed that the Parliamentary mentality has come to stay, and most of the Congress leaders have adopted constitutional methods of working in the Legislatures. Hence, on the solemn occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Congress, I pay my humble tribute to this National Assembly of India for its glorious achievements in the past and invoke the blessings of Providence that, its present custodians may be inspired by wisdom and statesmanship to revert permanently to the fruitful path of constitutionalism and thus lead the Congress to fulfil its mission of winning Swaraj for India.

WEATHERED MANY STORMS

It is an irony of fate that, in the year of its Golden Jubilee, the Congress should appear to have reached the nadir of its prestige and influence both with the Government and the people. Internecine feuds in almost every province, and repression from outside, seem to have reduced it to a state of impotence. It may, however, be remembered that, during its career of fifty years, Congress has weathered similar storms and showed great tenacity and virility. It received its first attack from within at Surat in 1907, when the extremist sections of Bengal and Maharashtra attempted to enforce their doctrines by resort to violence resulting in its suspension for the year. But the leaders of the Congress, were then found equal to the task of reorganising it so as to place it on a sound and firm footing. The experience, so dearly learnt at Surat, bore good fruit till, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi the Congress openly launched on a career of resorting to subversive methods in 1920. The inevitable consequence was, that after vainly ploughing the barren fields of non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience for some time, the Congress had to go into the wilderness for three years. Now that the Congress is finding its feet once more, there is no reason to fear that it will not regain its old vigour and prestige, if its present custodians profit by their past mistakes, and allow it to function along the well-tried paths of constitutionalism.

In celebrating the Jubilee of the Congress, our first duty should be to offer our grateful homage to its founders who showed rare foresight, sagacity and patriotism in sowing the seeds of nationalism and nursing it into a blossoming tree. When the Universities were first established in India in 1858, their first products, inspired by ideals of public service instilled into them by western education, established local Associations for representing their

D. G. Dalvi, M.A. LL.B.

provincial grievances to Government. But India was still a geographical unit, consisting of a congeries of communities, races and creeds. British Rule introduced a common bond of a uniform system of laws and administration, and the English language served as the common medium of communication—between citizens of different provinces. The educated youths of the country were not identified with the administration and had no hand in shaping the destinies of their respective provinces. The present generation of India can hardly im-

(Continued on page 71)

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Congress And The Problem Of Swaraj

(Continued From Page 70)

agine, under what adverse conditions, the first founders of the Congress had to struggle in order to weld the heterogenous mass India into a homogeneous mass, and to inspire common hopes and aspirations among them. In short they had to create a nation.

LATE MR. HUME

It is but natural that, after fifty years, the source from which the Indian founders of the Congress received their inspiration, and the true origin of the Congress, should be lost in obscurity. On this solemn occasion, we shall be failing in our duty, if we did not offer our tribute of gratitude to the British statesmen in India, wise administrators in the Civil Service like Mr. Hume and Sir W. Wedderburn, who, not only gave birth to the idea of founding the Congress, but helped in organising it, and created for it a position of influence and prestige with the Government both in India and England. But the origin can be traced still further to Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India. We have it on the authority of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjea, the first President of the Congress, that Mr Hume's original plan was to organise the Congress only for the discussion of social questions, and it was on the advice of Lord Dufferin that Mr. Hume and his Indian co-adjutors converted it into an assembly for the deliberation of political questions, so that the Congress might serve the purpose of His Majesty's opposition in the British Parliament.

It may be observed, that, though the Congress was originally conceived as His Majesty's opposition by the head of the Government of India, the Government soon changed its attitude. Though Lord Dufferin received the delegates of the second Congress, he characterised the Congress party "as a microscopic minority" and their ultimate ambition as "a big jump into the unknown." When the sixth session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1890, the Bengal Government issued a circular prohibiting the presence of Government officials at the meetings of the Congress. Later on, in 1904 Lord Curzon even refused to receive a deputation when Sir H. Cotton, a Bengal Civilian, offered to wait on the Viceroy with the resolution of the Congress. Thus, the influential bureaucracy was instrumental in defeating the original intentions of the Viceroy in suggesting the establishment of the Congress.

But this change of attitude of the Government did not deter the true friends of India, like Mr. Hume and Sir W. Wedderburn, from enhancing the influence and prestige of the Congress in the British Parliament. A Standing Committee of members of Parliament taking sympathetic interest in Indian affairs was established and a newspaper entitled "India" was started for educating opinion in England, Deputations of Indian Congressmen were occasionally sent to England for creating favourable opinion on Indian questions. It is to be regretted that, since the Congress adopted the policy of civil disobedience and non-co-operation, all these agencies for work in England have been abolished. This has enabled the opponents of Indian progress to misrepresent matters and create an adverse atmosphere in Parliament, as was evident during the passage of the new Government of India Act.

In discussing the question as to how the leaders of the old Congress tackled the problem of Swaraj, we are apt to ignore the tremendous difficulties under which they had to work, in the words of Sir Charles Duke, "in reasonable and cautious form," and how they met with success by slow degrees in "being conciliated by being met half-way." It will be appropriate to consider this subject by dividing the period of fifty years of the Congress in two parts: I 1885 to 1920, II 1920 to 1935. The first period covers the activities of the old school of Congressmen and the second relates to the new orientation of the goal and the methods under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The first period—ought to be viewed in three sub-periods (1) from 1885 to 1897 (2) 1897-1910 and (3) 1910-20, as they relate to the three instalments of constitutional Reforms leading India towards the goal of full responsible Government.

AGE OF TILAK.

During the first period (1885-1897) the pioneers of the Congress were mainly concerned with agitating for the removal of grievances in the different branches of the administration. While yielding ground on minor questions, the bureaucracy offered strong opposition on major problems, like the seperation of the judicial and executive functions. The mind of the Congress was, therefore fixed on obtaining power for redressing the shortcomings in the system of Government by the expansion of the Legislative Councils and raising their status and increasing the privileges of popular representatives. The old Councils Act of 1861 only provided for an advisory and consultative body of a few nominated Indians. Hence, within five years of its inception the Congress took up this question and sent a deputation to London for this purpose. A private Bill by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., was prepared, whereupon the Government met it with an official draft known as Lord Cross's Bill. Lord Dufferin, in a dispatch, put forward a scheme "for the enlargement of the Provincial Councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into them of the elective principle and the liberalisation of their general character as political—institutions." Great controversy raged over the acceptance of the elective principle, as Lord Salisbury opposed it on the ground that "it was not an Eastern idea and that it did not fit Eastern traditions and Eastern minds." Ultimately, the Councils Act of 1892 was passed. Though it marked a distinct advance, it failed to satisfy the popular mind, as in the language of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, "it was like a most superb steam-engine in which the necessary material to generate steam was carefully excluded, substituting in its place coloured shams to look like it."

During the second period (1897-1910) the Congress passed from its childhood to adolescence. While education advanced and popular aspirations grew with it, the discontent generated by the inadequacy of the Council's Act of 1892 rose to a high pitch. Tilak made his appearance as a rising star in the political firmament and started an agitation for carrying the message of the Congress to the masses. Government responded by hauling him up for sedition in 1897 and sent him to jail. The reactionary measures of Lord Curzon's regime added fuel to the fire. When Lord Curzon adumbrated his scheme for the partition of Bengal, it generated a country-wide conflagration and the movement for the boycott of British goods found a sympathetic response especially in Bengal and the Deccan. Dadabhoy Naorojee, the Grand Old Man of India, taught the Indian people the gospel of Swaraj as President of the Calcutta Congress in 1906. The extremist wing of the Congress took definite shape in Bengal and the Deccan, and the bomb came to be used as a political weapon for the first time.

Owing to divergent opinions as to the nature of the Swaraj demanded by Dadabhoy, the Surat Congress was suspended "sine die," but the Moderate Party resuscitated it on the clear and unambiguous basis of "self-government on Colonial lines" which was tantamount to the goal of Dominion Status of to-day. Tilak was again incarcerated in gaol for six years and the reorganised Congress continued its work, without the extremist schools of Bengal and Maharashtra. Fortunately, a statesman of strong radical traditions like Lord Morley came to preside at the India Office. Mr. Gokhale held repeated and anxious consultations with him on behalf of the Congress. After long consultation with the Viceroy Lord Minto, the next instalment of constitutional reforms was successfully piloted through Parliament by Lord Morley. By this measure, all provinces were provided with legislative councils and the number of members of Councils was increased and the area of representation considerably widened. The right of interpellations, was extended by the privilege of putting supplementary questions. The right of moving resolutions and private Bills was also conceded. But the revolutionary change introduced by this measure was the introduction of one Indian member in the Executive Councils, both provincial and central.

ENTER COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

Though a distinct advance, this measure did not appease popular discontent. It was preceeded by a series of repressive laws and the bitter memories survived. For winning the support of Parliament, Lord Morley had declared that he did not intend to give parliamentary institutions to India. Hence, no effective majority was conceded to the popular representatives. On the other hand, the vicious principle of communal electorates was for the first time introduced. No control over the finances was granted and the resolutions moved in the Council had no binding force. The regulations framed under the new Act by the Government of India were of a reactionary character and detracted still more from its usefulness. Finally, the first appointments of Indian members of the provincial executive Councils failed to win popular approval and confidence. In fact, "the reforms proved to be mere faint adumbrations of a rough political sketch the full representation of which in its true colour had yet to be evolved."

The task of filling the political canvass with true parliamentary institutions was reserved for the next period from 1910 to 1920, during which the Congress emerged into the stage of vigorous manhood. The peace and quiet restored in the country by the Morley-Minto Reforms was short-lived. The great war broke out in 1914, bringing in its train new hopes and aspirations in the nascent democracy of India. Mrs. Besant made her entry in the political arena and Tilak was released from jail soon after. Both of them, especially the former, carried on an intensive campaign through their respective Home-Rule Leagues, which was but accentuated by the repressive action taken by Government in gagging Tilak and interning Mrs. Besant.

GOKHALE'S TESTAMENT.

Owing to the prevailing conditions of war the stage was set for further constitutional advance. A few months before his premature death, Gokhale was in consultation in London with the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, and had furnished him with a scheme of reforms, now known as his political testament Sir S. P.

(Continued on page 72)

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Congress And The Problem Of Swaraj

(Continued From Page 71)

Sinha had made a demand from the chair of the Bombay Congress in 1915 that the Government should declare self-government for India as the goal of British Rule in India, and Parliament, had made the declaration in 1917. In consultation with the Moslem League, the Congress-League Scheme of reforms was prepared. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford made their investigations in India and submitted their Report. Deputations from the Congress, the Liberal Federation and the Moslem-League proceeded to London to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. When the Reforms Bill, giving effect to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, was finally passed in Parliament in 1919, the Congress under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal and with the full co-operation of Mrs. Besant and Mahatma Gandhi conferred its blessings on it and called upon the Indian people to work the reforms.

Moderates' Secession

The greatest achievement of this period was the new orientation of policy of the Moslem League. Since the inception of the Congress, the Musalman community had held aloof from the Congress, though a few leaders like Buddrudin Tyebji, Rahimtulla Sayani and A. Rassul, had joined it. In 1904, the Moslems were organised into a separate body called the Moslem-League, during the regime of Lord Curzon. It was, therefore, a happy augury that, on the advice of H. H. the Aga Khan, Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Mahomed Ali, Vazir Hasan, Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the community, the Moslem-League coordinated its policy with that of the Congress, held their sessions in the same places as the Congress, and joined the Congress in framing its scheme of reforms known as the Congress-League Scheme. Another achievement during this period was the reunion of all political parties on the platform of the Congress at Lucknow in 1916, the Moderate Party having made it possible for the seceders at Surat to enter the fold of the Congress by suitable amendments in its constitution. This union of all parties and communities made the sessions of the Congress at Lucknow in 1916 and at Calcutta in 1917, truly representative of the nation and made the remarkable constitutional advance embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms possible. It may, however, be mentioned that when the old leaders of the Congress found that the passage of the new Reforms Bill through Parliament was imperilled by the unwise attitude of Tilak and Mrs. Besant, they temporarily seceded from the Congress and organised themselves into the Liberal Federation in November 1918. I believe, this breach in the Congress ranks would have been healed after the new Government of India Act was passed in 1919, but for the unfortunate fact that the radical departure made by the Congress in 1920 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi in its methods and later, in its goal, had made the breach permanent.

The Montagu-Chelsmford reforms constitute, in my opinion, the triumph of an united Congress. Even Mahatma Gandhi had lent his whole-hearted support to this measure at the Amritsar Congress in 1919. It enlarged the composition of the legislatures, both central and provincial, and widened the electorates. It gave effective control over the budget. In the provincial sphere, it introduced a large measure of responsibility. In the centre, it increased the number of Indians in the Executive Council from one to three. It gave real and effective majority to the representatives in the popular chamber, thus giving them influence instead of responsibility. The potential power conceded by the Act was even greater than the actual power transferred. It is a matter for regret that, owing to repeated boycott of the legislatures, under the new policy of the Congress, we have been deprived of the full benefit the Act was capable of yielding. In short, the Montagu Act introduced real parliamentary institutions in India for the first time.

The last period from 1920 to 1935 covers the rise, progress and suspension of the Non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements, under the aegis of the Congress and under the personal guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The policy and programme of the old Congress were jettisoned in order to fulfil the solemn promise of attaining "Swaraj within one year." Constitutional methods were condemned as effete and futile, and peaceful and legitimate methods were adopted instead. Later on, the goal of Dominion status was modified into one of Independence. After three campaigns within 15 years, the British Parliament offered the Hoare-Willingdon scheme of reforms, and inspite of strong and uniform opposition to it of the political-minded classes, enacted the recent Government of India Act of 1935. The Congress has, of course, rejected it. The Liberal Federation have recorded its verdict in its resolution passed at the sessions at Poona in 1934 that, while condemning it, the Liberal Party did not want it and would prefer to remain under the existing constitution though unsatisfactory. The communal parties have also expressed their disapproval of the measure, though, owing to the benefits arising out of the communal award, they would not reject it.

In forming our estimate of the strength and suitability of Gandhian policy, programme and method for the attainment of Swaraj, it is necessary to bear in mind that the new movement has been given a full trial of fifteen years, during which, there have been three successive campaigns. The awakened masses and the richer classes gave it their wholehearted support. It had the financial assistance of a huge fund of a crore of rupees. In obedience to, the call of the Congress thousands went to gaol and the commercial classes helped by great sacrifice and suffering. Mahatma Gandhi received the loyal co-operation of great national leaders like Pandit Motilal and Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpatrai and C. R. Das, Vithalbhai Patel and Sen Gupta. In its initial stages, the Government of Lord Reading abstained from interfering with the movement, till it exhausted itself at Bardoli, and Lord Irwin gave it recognition so far as to enter into a pact with Mahatma Gandhi. It was only during the regime of the present Viceroy that unmitigated repression was resorted to. Mahatma Gandhi had the unique advantage of carrying on personal negotiations at the Round Table Conference with British statesmen. If, inspite of all these advantages, the Congress could not succeed in obtaining a better scheme of Swaraj, than the new constitution imposed on the country, the conclusion is irresistible that the nostrum devised by Mahatma Gandhi is not suited to the genius of the Indian people, and is not in conformity with the social, and economic, moral and psychological, conditions of the country, that it entails more suffering and loss on the people than on the Government, and is not calculated to win Swaraj for India.

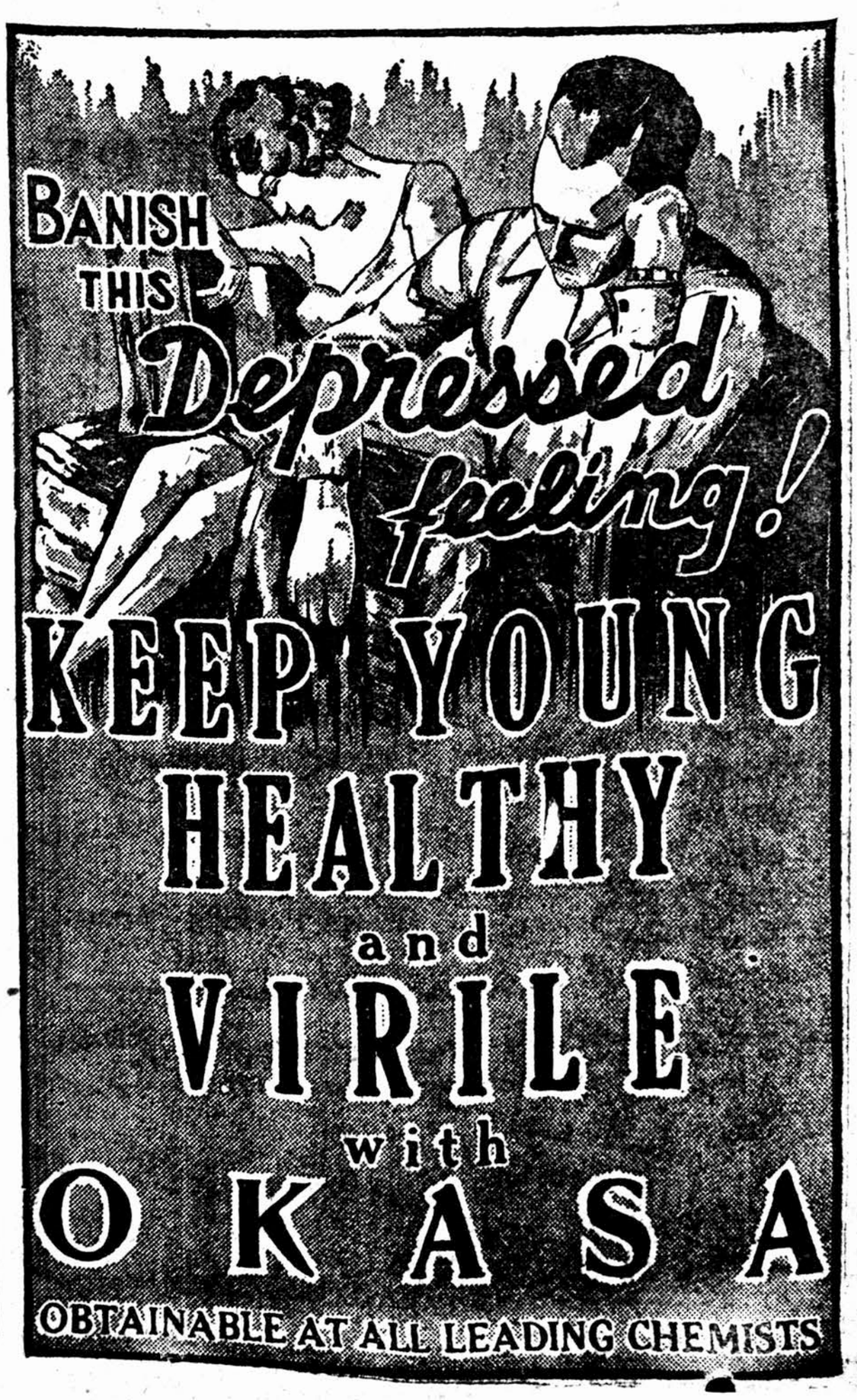
From the rapid survey of the principal events in the history of the Congress, it is evident, that, under the aegis of the old Congress, there have been three successive amendments of the constitution in 35 years, the last of which was strongly approved by Mahatma Gandhi at Amritsar Congress in 1919, whereas, the recent amendment consequent on the Gandhian movement of 15 years has been condemned, not only by Mahatma Gandhi but by all the political-minded classes in India. The first three reforms, though inadequate, form evolutionary stages leading towards the goal of the old Congress, while the new constitution, though seemingly a further stage in that evolution, is so circumscribed by reactionary features that, in actual practice, it will lead the country in the reverse direction. The obvious moral which the country can draw, on the solemn occasion of the Jubilee is, that it is necessary for the Congress to revert to the policy, programme and methods which the leaders of the old Congress adopted with such good results. They worked for the unification and harmonious co-operation of all classes and communities, whereas the present constitution of the Congress, in effect, is rigid and exclusive. The value of joint efforts of all parties was seen at Lucknow in 1916. Again, it was perceptible in the boycott of the Simon Commission in 1927-28, which became successful owing to the combined efforts of all parties. If the same unity of effort under the aegis of the Congress were shown at the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the new constitution would have been shorn of most of its reactionary features. Its fundamental basis of an All-India Federation, provincial autonomy, and safeguards in the interests of India, is in conformity with the goal of the old Congress as shown above, And, hence, the representatives of the school of the old Congress on the first R. T. C. accepted it and Mahatma Gandhi also agreed to it in his pact with Lord Irwin. An united effort of all parties through the Congress would certainly have eliminated the ugly features of the new constitution and made it acceptable to the Indian nation, as a whole.

During its career of fifty years, the Congress has passed through many vicissitudes of fortune. As was well observed by Pherozeshah Mehta in his Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1890, every great movement has to pass through several phases as it runs its course.

"The first one is of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession and misapprehension of aims, accompanied by warnings against taking big jumps into the unknown. The final stage of all, is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement, with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before."

If this final stage is to be reached within a measurable distance of time and the Congress is to fulfil its high and glorious destiny, I fell convinced that, it can best accomplish the task by proceeding along the well-tried path of the leaders of old Congress, namely, of unity, harmony and co-operation within the Congress of all the parties and communities in the country. The spirit of arrogance and intolerance which has been manifested in the last fifteen years will only lead to more schisms in the ranks of nationalism. On this solemn and auspicious occasion of the Jubilee, let us lay to our hearts the wise words of Gokhale whom Mahatma Gandhi reveres as his Guru:

"We should not do our work in a narrow, exclusive, intolerant spirit which says—whoever is not with us is against us. Let us do it in the broader, more comprehensive more catholic spirit which says—whoever is not against us is with us. Harmony, co-operation, union—by these alone we can achieve any real success in our present state."



Close Up Congress Ranks

As Nation's Sole Representative It Must Enforce Strict Discipline

(By K. M. MUNSHI, Advocate.)

In 1885 the Congress started as a conference of a few patriotic men. In 1907, at Surat, the Congress was in effect refashioned by popular leaders in the name of the popular will. After 1914 Mrs. Besant introduced a spirit of organisation into it. At Amritsar, in 1919, a single individual, Gandhiji, in the name of millions, took possession of it, and out of this popular conference forged a mighty organisation.

In 1930 the organisation embarked on direct action. In 1931 it achieved the glory of being a contracting party with the British Empire, a unique event. In 1934, in Bombay, baffled but unbeaten, it started remodelling its existence, and to-day, in spite of external difficulties and internal dissensions, it stands as the one supreme organisation which guides and controls the impulses of millions in this country, and voices the aspirations of the Indian Nation, which itself is largely its own creation. It is almost a living organism, guided by one will from the centre and capable of instinctive and concentrated action That is why it is so powerful and has remained unvanquished so far. That is why it embodies the country's hopes and evokes such unstinted devotion.

A general view of the scene at Smithfield Cattle-Show at the R oyal Agricultural Hall, Islington.

NATION'S SOLE REPRESENTATIVE.

The coming into existence of such single parties has been the remarkable feature of modern politics in all civilised countries. Such a party is not to be thought of in terms of parliamentary parties well known to the student of pre-war British political life. It is not a section of the people participating in the fuller life of the country through the medium of parliamentary life. The modern party organisation is organised democracy. It covers the whole social and political fabric in a country. It cannot brook rivals, for it speaks in the name of the Nation. It is the one source of power in the country, controls all life and supports or undermines all Governments. Viewed in this light the Congress is not one of the numerous parties in the country, as is claimed by British critics or disgruntled Indians but solely represents the Nation.

NEED OF DISCIPLINE.

Congress is powerful so long as it represents the entire nation, no more and no less. It cannot, however, be denied that it has not yet reached that level of self-discipline which characterises well-known parties in the West. The Socialists undermine its prestige, the Nationalists openly defy it, factions at many places struggle for exclusive power rather than consolidated strength.

That is perhaps due to the fact that democracy is not yet fully organised in this country; partly perhaps to fissiparousness which centuries of subjection has made a part of our temperament. It is more than likely that this weakness is inherent in the early stages of an organisation which is based on the force of public opinion rather than coercion and espionage. The stronger, more organised, more wide-spread the Congress, the greater will be the prospects of the nation achieving freedom in this generation. This achievement, however, is possible only if this weakness is removed. This I consider a major problem in Congress politics.

* * * *

Two Negroes met in a New Orleans town. One was a big fellow who had travelled as far as Canada: the other a little chap known as Sam.

"Nice place up in Canada?" inquired the latter.

"Finest in the world."

"Any room for me up in Canada?"

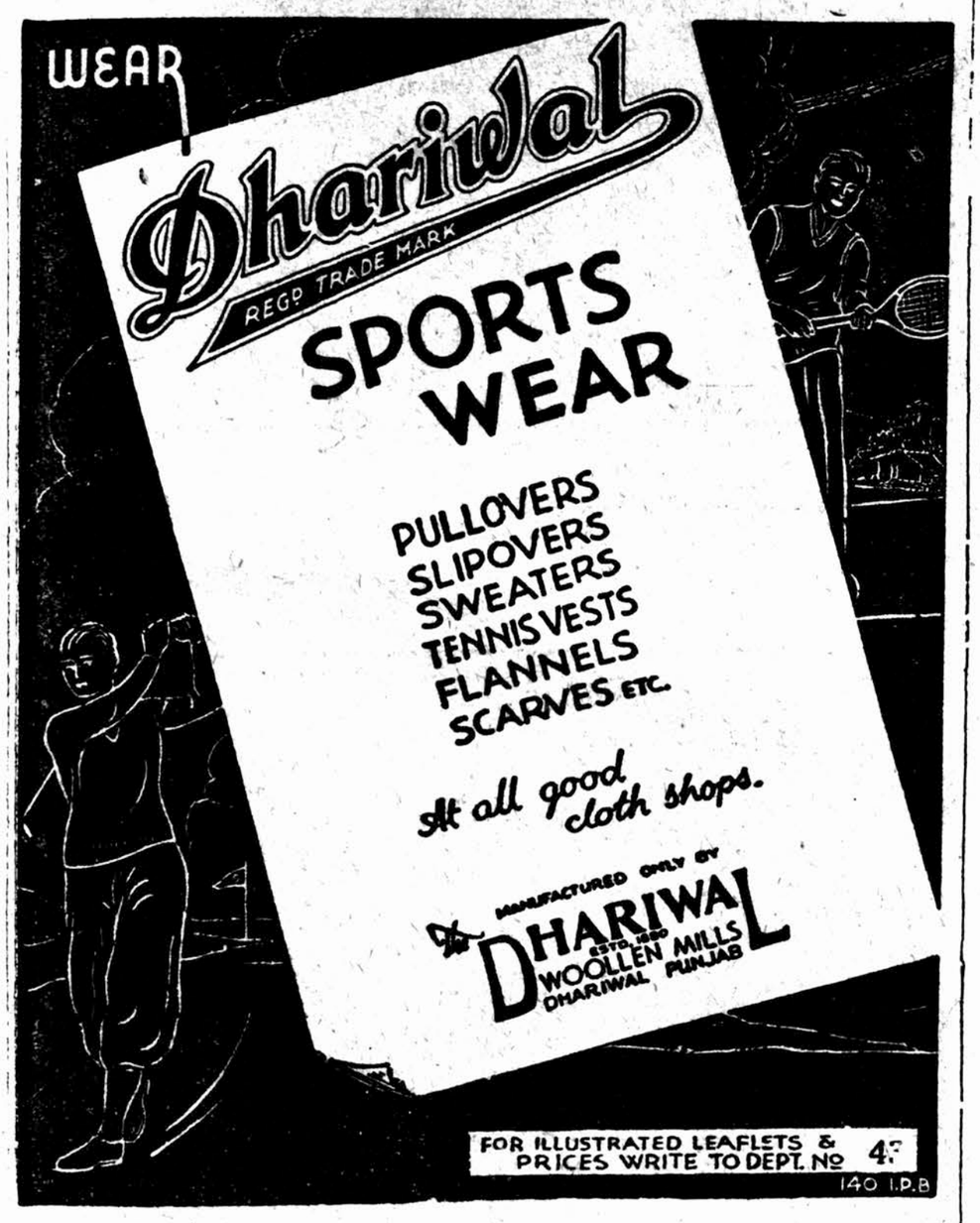
"Yes, they like us folks up there."

"How do I get there?"

"Why, you just gets into a boat right here on the Miss'ssippi River, and you rows and rows, and then you're in Canada."

Early the next morning Sam got into a boat and rowed and rowed. But the Mississippi current is swift, and Sam was puny. He rowed from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. attending strictly to 'besiness and concentrating his gaze on the bottom of the boat. By the end of that time he had lost about six feet. His big friend happened to stroll down to the river bank, saw him still rowing frantically, and called out: "That you, Sam?"

The latter looked up, startled. "Great snakes!" he exclaimed, "who knows me away up here in Canada?"



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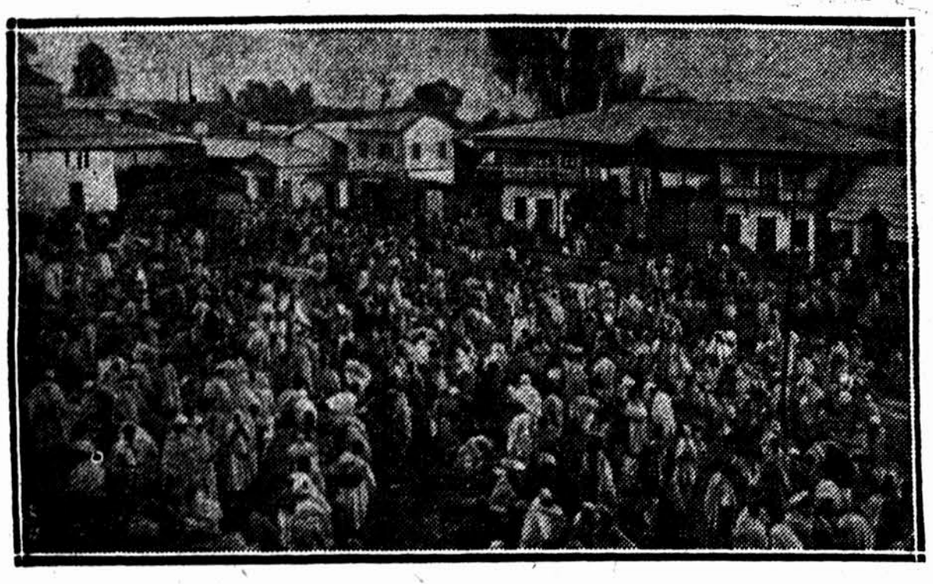
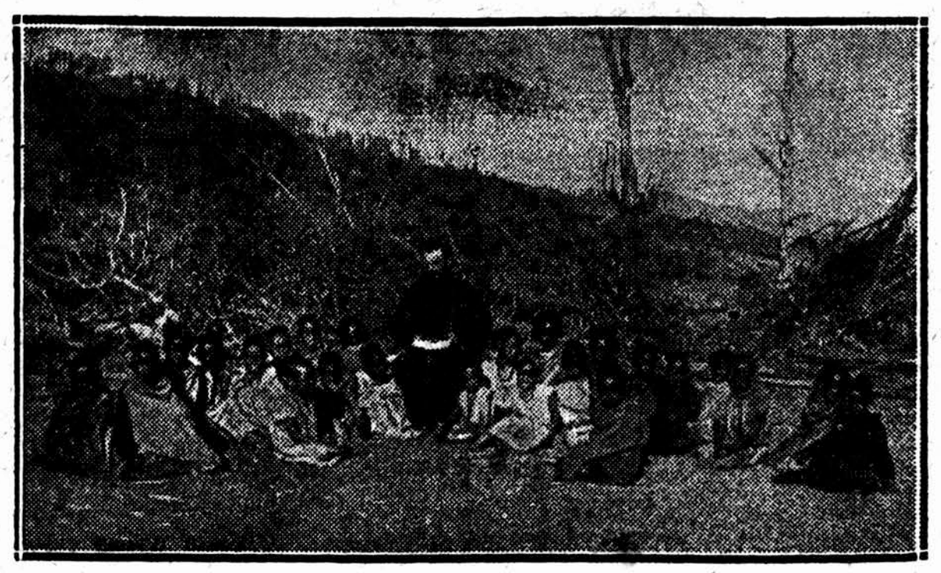


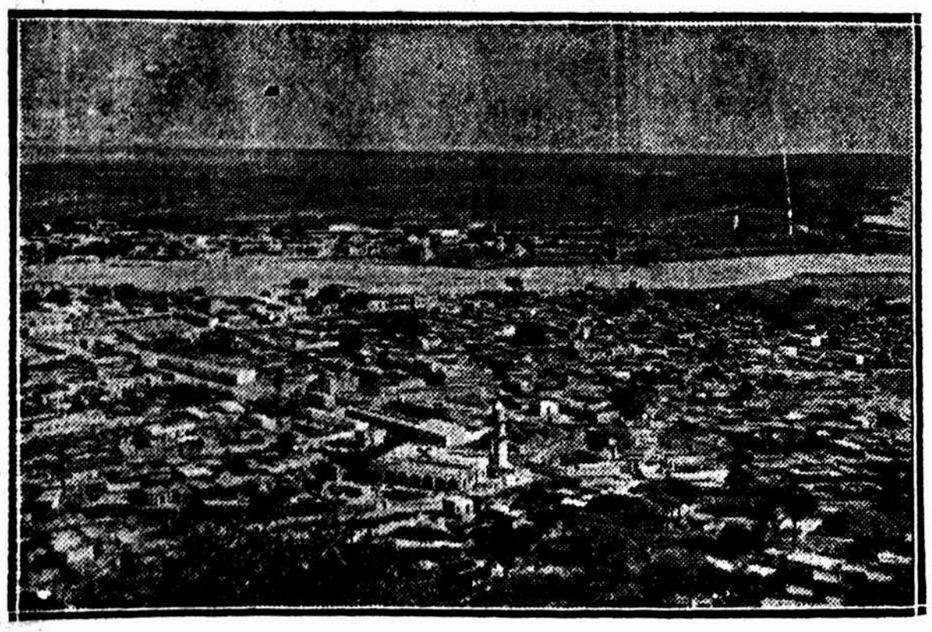
The Grain-market of Addis Ababa.

European Trading Quarters at A ddis Ababa.

Scene at great Muskal festival at Addis Ababa.



A Catholic missionary teaching Ethiopian boys to read and write French.



A view of Dire-Dawa, with the Jumma Masjid (marked with a cross) in the foreground.

Station of Dire-Dawa at the time of arrival of Dedjaz Abeba, the powerful Ethiopian Chief.

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Tasks Ahead Of Congress

Need Of Revising Constitution To Make It More Broad-Based

(By R. G. PRADHAN, ex-M.L.C.)

The immense hold of the Indian National Congress on the national mind of India is shown by the enthusiasm which the ensuing celebration of its Golden Jubilee has aroused among the people. Even those who are not its members wish to take an active part in the celebration. This is as it should be. The Congress is the one national organization of India which inspires the deepest devotion among the people. Even its critics realise its vast, all-pervading influence, and cannot speak of it, except in terms of profound respect. There is no community or class in the country, which has not felt and does not feel that it is a vital force in the progress of India, and in the evolution of her destiny. Whatever political progress India has made during the last fifty years is, for the most part, due to its efforts. Its aim, policy, and methods are objects of universal concern and interest.

GLORIOUS RECORD.

It has passed through various vicissitudes, and survived many a storm. Its record of self-sacrifice and suffering is glorious. Most of the best men of India have given it their unstinted services. It has held before the people the highest national ideals, it has, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, conceived and practised a method of national action, a form of national sanction, which, in spite of its failure for the time being, adds to the forces, weapons and resources of progress, available to all mankind, even to those communities which cannot, or do not wish to, rely on physical force for enforcing Right and realising their legitimate destinies, which has already subtly made its way out of India, and which, by raising men to the highest levels of heroic, peaceful self-abnegation and moral resistance, may succeed in removing the disequilibrium which lies, at present, at the root of all the ills and agonies of the world. It is the emblem, the compendium, the embodiment of the national hopes, aims, and aspirations of India, of her will to achieve an independent national existence, of her unbending determination to free herself from the fetters of subjection and inferiority, and to attain a national and international destiny which will place her in the forefront among the nations of the world. With such a past and such a promise of the future, it is but natural that preparations on a grand scale are being made to celebrate its Golden Jubilee.

SELF-INTROSPECTION.

On an occasion like this, the leaders and members of the Congress may do well in a spirit of deliberate self-introspection, to give some earnest thought to the criticisms that are made against it in some quarters. Those criti-

R. G. PRADHAN.

cisms should not be spurned, as of no value, as though they come from malignant enemies. Some of them are made even by those who are within the Congress organization. I yield to none in my devotion to the Congress; I have never spoken or written a harsh word against it, even at a time when fundamental differences on the question of the boycott of legislatures made me secede from it some fifteen years ago. I have now rejoined it and have felt very happy in doing so, I feel the force of some of these criticisms and think that the Congress leaders may do well in improving the Congress organization in their light.

The new constitution of the Congress has been in existence only for a year and yet, its defects have already become apparent. Personally, I think that the Congress made a mistake when it decided to reduce the number of the delegates to its annual session. The general public has not been able to understand the real inwardness of this reduction. But whatever may have been Mahatma Gandhi's object in advising and insisting on this decrease it is too much to say that it has been justified by actual results.

One result of this change will be that many of those, who may like to attend the Congress as delegates, and whose presence, as such, may be very useful, will be prevented from doing so. With the lifting of the boycott of Councils, the door of the Congress has been reopened to those who, on account of the boycott, could not conscientiously continue as members. They are anxious to rejoin the Congress, and to take once again their proper place in its deliberations and activities. It is the duty of the Congress leaders to facilitate their re-entry into the Congress fold.

RESTRICTED DELEGATION.

Speaking for my own district,

(Continued on page 77)

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Tasks Ahead Of Congress

(Continued from page 76)

though there are about two thousand members on the Congress roll, it will be represented at the ensuing session only by three delegates. And I believe the representation of other districts also will be equally small. The effect of such a highly restricted delegation cannot fail to be unsatisfactory. If men are denied opportunities of influencing national policies and action by their advice and vote, they are apt, eventually, to become indifferent to the decisions ultimately taken. One reason why there should be adequate representation to a national organisation is that thereby the active interest of those who are competent or qualified enough to play a useful part, is enlisted; and the nation gets the benefit of the deliberations of most of those to whom it is entitled to look for collective lead and guidance.

By thus restricting the delegation to a comparatively small number, the Congress may tend, in course of time, to evolve an autocratic or oligarchical complex or its policies and decisions may not command general adherence. My own considered view, therefore, is that the number of delegates to the Congress should be increased to the same figure as before.

'SARTORIAL' CONDITIONS.

The conditions laid down in the Congress constitution as regards the wearing of Khadi, and manual labour, must also be done away with. I am not against wearing, Khadi. Indeed, I intend to become a habitual weaver of Khadi myself. Nor do I undervalue the dignity of manual labour. But the conditions that every office-bearer of the Congress must be a habitual wearer of Khadi, and perform such manual work as may be prescribed, are tantamount to the exclusion of many qualified persons from Congress offices. I have no desire to be a captious critic of the present office-bearers of the Congress or of its committee in the provinces or districts. It will, however, throw a great light on this question, if a thorough scrutiny is made as to whether or not both these tests are, at present, fully satisfied by the present office-bearers. I respectfully submit that these conditions should be removed and that if any sartorial condition is to be laid down at all, it should be only this viz. that at every Congress meeting or function, members must wear a Khadi uniform which may consist of a Khadi coat and a Khadi cap. Such a change seems to me to be necessary, if the Congress executives are to be more broad-based, than is practicable under the new constitution, on the "intelligentsia" in the country.

The rigidity of the constitution, both as regards delegation and the holding of office, must necessarily exclude many persons, otherwise fully qualified, from exercising their legitimate influence on the deliberations and activities of the Congress.

PROBLEM OF STATES SUBJECTS.

Another piece of criticism levelled against the Congress is that it is not fully alive to the claims and interests of the people in Indian States. I think, there is much substance in this criticism. We, the people in British India, are asked to federate, not with our countrymen in Indian States, but with their autocratic, irresponsible rulers. To my mind, this is one of the gravest defects of the new federal constitution, and it is enough, in itself, to make it unacceptable to us. This constitution gives no place whatever to the people in Indian States; it treats them as if they are outside the pale of Indian policy.

Such being the case, is it not the duty of the Congress to espouse whole-heartedly their cause and to strive to secure for them their proper place? The policy adopted by the Congress in this respect is half-hearted, it lacks courage. It is time that this faint-heartedness, this temporising spirit should at once be given up, and that the Congress should make it plain to the Princes that it considers the interests of the people in British India and of those in Indian States as identical, and that, therefore, it insists that, their subjects must be assigned their proper place, as progressive human beings and citizens, as much entitled to claim the rights of self-government as the people in British India, in any constitution devised or enacted for the whole of India.

SEARCH FOR COMMUNAL UNITY.

Another criticism made against the Congress to which I wish to refer to is its supposed policy of absolute surrender to the extreme claims of the Muslim community. I do not think that this criticism is justified. I hold that the attitude of the Congress with regard to the Communal Award is absolutely correct. Nevertheless, I think, the Congress Executive should make a fresh effort to bring about a compromise so as to meet, at least to some extent, the viewpoint of those who hold a different view on this question All sensible, nationalist politicians, whether Hindu or Moslem, are agreed that the perpetuation of communal electorates is no real solution of the problem of the representation of the different communities in the legislatures. In view of this agreement, continuous efforts must be made to bring about an agreed settlement which will virtually terminate the Communal Award imposed upon by the British Government.

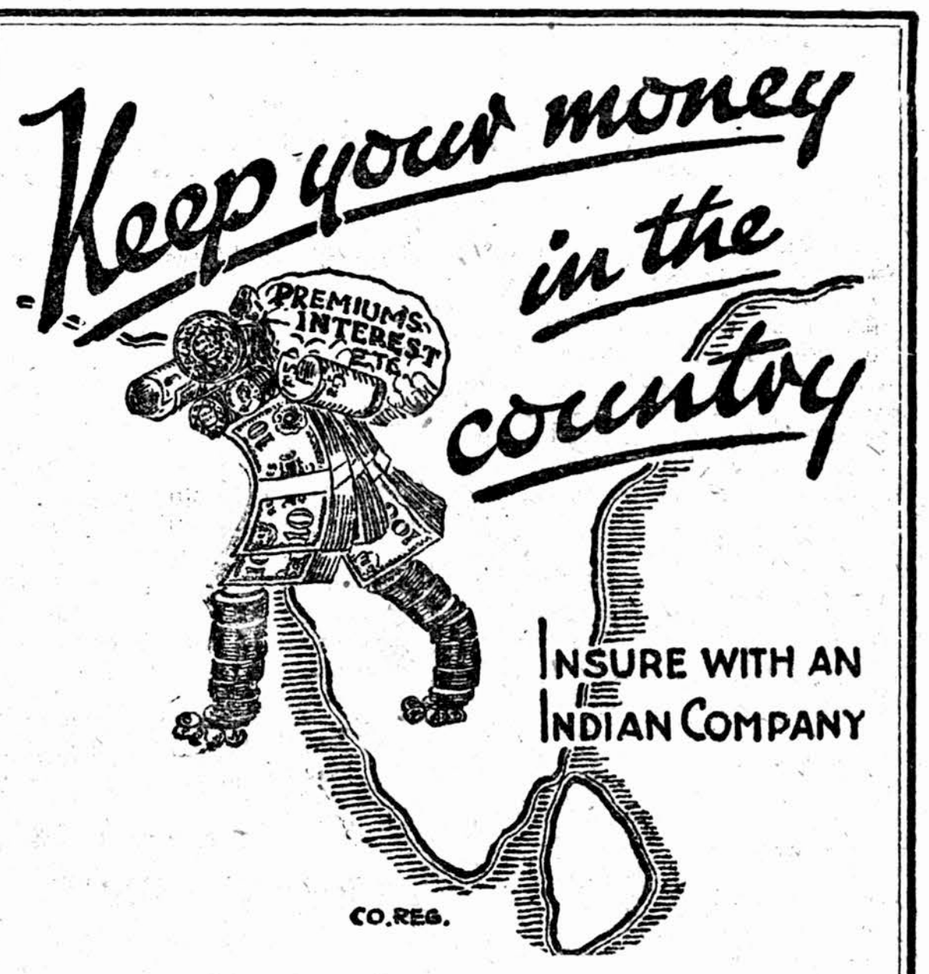
IMMEDIATE TASKS.

Having briefly dealt with these various criticisms, I now turn to the immediate work before the Congress. The boycott of the legislatures having been removed, the Congress must do its best to secure majorities in provincial legislatures. I do not propose to consider in this article the difficult question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office, or the question whether, in case the Congress decides against acceptance of office, the policy of uniform, consistent and indiscriminate opposition should be adopted. I think that the All-India Congress Committee has decided wisely in referring these questions to the Congress in its plenary session.

But it is quite clear that, having decided to enter, and it possible to capture, the legislatures, the Congress should lose no time in deciding what active steps should be taken with a view to carrying on a vigorous electioneering campaign throughout the whole of India. It will also be necessary for the Congress to formulate a definite programme of reforms to be carried out in every province, in case the Congress decides to accept office or if it decides not to accept office it must make it clear that it will not adopt a policy of indiscriminate oppositions.

Such a programme must be carefully thought out. It must not be merely doctrinaire, or too idealistic. It must aim at bringing about a progressive synthesis of what is ideally desirable and what is practicable. In order that such a programme may be framed, the Congress must appoint sub-committees for the purpose of studying every important problem and making recommendations.

The urgency of the work such as I have indicated above cannot be denied. I sincerely hope that all these questions will be taken up by the Congress at its Lucknow Session and that active work will be carried on immediately after the session is over. One thing is absolutely clear: the provincial legislatures must be captured as completely as possible, and, in order to achieve this object, a clear programme must be chalked out and a vigorous electioneering propaganda carried on. I have no doubt that the Congress will rise to the occasion, improve its constitution on the lines suggested above, and show to sceptics and opponents in our own country, and to the outside world, that it is the one dominant force in the country, that truly embodies its intelligence, its will and its growing power.



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Synthesis Of Indian Nationalism

(Continued from page 48)

social conference with a programme of social reform was an adjunct of the Congress and the differences that arose in 1895 on the question whether the Congress could directly associate itself with the scheme of social reform till then tacked on to the political gathering were settled peacefully at the Poona Session (1895) by M. G. Ranade by his "tolerant and wise action". But social reform had remained ever since a step-child of the national gathering until in 1920 the dynamic programme of Gandhi widened the outlook of the Congress and abolished the compartmentalism that hitherto prevailed between political reform and social reconstruction. What the Congress has achieved in the direction of the removal of the greatest social evil in Hinduism—namely, untouchability, is now well-known. Gandhi was at death's door in order to awaken the national conscience and awaken he did.

THREE BEAMS.

The three beams on which Indian Nationalism is to be constructed are not really, as Lord Irwin would put, Federation, Central Responsibility and Safeguards in Indian interests, but "Khadder, removal of untouchability and the abolition of drink." The great movement of 1921-25, we saw, put Khadder on a firm basis in the domain of "economics"; that of 1930-1934 put untouchability out of court in the sphere of "social" reconstruction. There remains the third, abolition of drink to be effected in the domain of "morals." May be, this would require another great national upheaval perhaps another fast to death by Gandhi. But whether it requires heavy sacrifices or mild, it constitutes the third side of the triangle on which the National Edifice is to be raised.

The Congress has not been a preserve of one class of people or one community of the population or one category of interest. It had addressed itself to the removal of grievances affecting all classes and categories and communities—notably the poor ryots of the country. These monopolized the attention of the Congress in the earlier days and from the year 1917 a new chapter opened in the history of the Nation, when the Champaran question was taken up by Gandhi in Bihar though not directly under the Congress. If Gandhi risked his liberty to save the Bihar tenants in 1917, he ran an equal risk the next year in order to serve the Ahmedabad mill workers.

And when the first lessons of Satyagraha were gone through at Champaran, in Ahmedabad and in Kaira, a new strategy—the strategy of truth and non-violence—came into the arena which was accepted by the Congress and it was with the aid of this new weapon that the Congress addressed itself to a programme of comprehensive reform in the economic, social and ethical spheres which combined to make the political sphere. Politics after all is the science and art of human well-being and as such does not admit of any vivi-section into different fragments or compartments. This is the great achievement of the third decade of the twentieth century an achievement which has turned the nations' attention to the East from the West, to themselves from others, to reconstruction from within instead of agitation from without.

TRUE MEANING OF SWARAJ.

When once the nation began to recognise that national emancipation meant self-realization, it took measures in earnest in Bombay last year to extend the application on a nation-wide scale of the principles which had led to the revival of Khadder. Khadder is really the prince of village industries and if there is real logic or life in the revival of a well-nigh dead industry like Khadder, then there is equal logic and life in reviving the other dead or dying industries of the villages in India. The story of the revival of these vanished crafts and arts is, indeed, a twice told tale. But it has to be told once again in reviewing the multiple aspects of the Congress work in its latter day development.

The problem of Indian Swaraj is the problem of food and raiment to all and has to be solved in the face of the onslaughts of a civilisation which has installed capitalism on the seats of power and has led to grovelling poverty side by side with immeasurable riches. These contrasts in the Western countries are being steadily repeated in India and the trained intellects of our universities which have been fed on the pabulum of western economics have raised a loud cry of socialism,—and no damned non-sense. But it does not require much of imagination to see that a remedy to be serviceable must follow the disease and what is a cure in England, may be a mere "placebo" in India.

The ailments of the body politic do not yield to charlatanism. They require a correct analysis and a suitable remedy. The Indian Nation is constructed upon those very principles of self-sufficiency for which the European nations are helplessly crying. And once the principle of self-sufficiency is established, it works itself out into sufficiency on horizontal planes not in vertical heights. Each area preserves that self-sufficiency which the Nation aims at and it is this principle that is noticeable in the ancient village organisation of India.

NO BASE COUNTERFEIT.

It is thus that the village has become the granary of the nation, the store house of the country's wealth, the fountain spring of national skill and sense of beauty, the repository of the art life of the people, the generator of the motive power of a whole race. To restore such village to its pristine eminence does not require any apologies from its votaries and does not merit any criticisms from its opponents. This stupendous task has been taken on hand to give the finishing touch as it were to the upbuilding of Indian Nationalism. The Indian Nation so revived shall be not a base imitation but a pure reconstruction, not a base counterfeit but pure sterling, not a base patch-work but a pure art treasure.

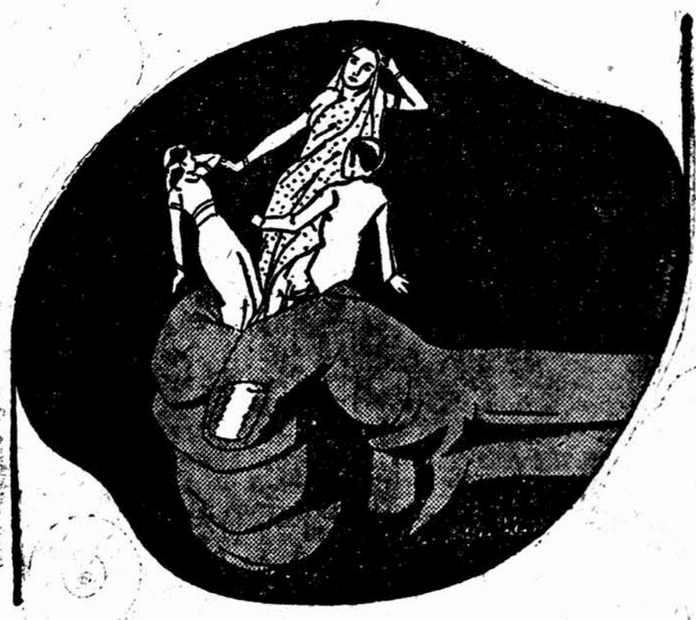
"C. P.'S" TRIBUTE.

MADRAS: Dec. 23.

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Congress, as an old Congressman and as one of its office bearers for some years and although I differ from the present policy in some important particulars, I wish to pay my tribute to the great contribution made by the Congress to the revivification of Indian thought and activity.

Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

YOUR *wife*, YOUR *children*—



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What Is Theosophy?

Science Of Freedom And Friendship, It Shows Us Way To God Victorious

(By DR. G. S. ARUNDALE).

What is Theosophy? My own favourite definition is that it is God's knowledge of Himself. And when I use the word "God" I am thinking of no anthropomorphic personage, but of a mighty Radiance, who is Life and Light and Glory, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent.

Hence Theosophy is the science, or if you will, the Religion or Philosophy of Life. Theosophy is Religion, whence religions come forth. Theosophy is Science, whence sciences emerge. Theosophy is Philosophy, whence philosophies are derived. No less is Theosophy the Science of Individuality in all its smallest details. Theosophy is the Order of Life, the Law of Life, the Purpose of Life.

Such is Theosophy in reality. Yet from time to time God reveals to men—themselves Gods in their Becoming—fragments of His knowledge of Himself. In the sciences Science stands fragmentarily revealed. In the religions Religion stands fragmentarily revealed. In the philosophies Philosophy stands fragmentarily revealed. In the gods who are all living creatures, God stands fragmentarily revealed. Such revelation is in very truth the More-to-be shining upon the less-in-actuality, as the Sun rises to awaken a sleeping world.

REVEALING FROM ABOVE.

The Theosophy we study in the splendid literature of the Theosophical Society is surely infinitely less than God's knowledge of Himself, but it certainly is the revelation of a microscopic fragment of that knowledge suited to the needs of the time upon which the revealing shines. And while on the one hand it emphasises certain aspects of the Divine Knowledge specially needed to be known to the modern world, on the other hand it discloses a bird's-eye-view of such Knowledge through the whole period of its evolutionary growth from a beginning to an infinitely lofty stage of its consummation.

It is a revealing from above, for it comes from Those who are Masters of the Divine Knowledge. It is not a seeking from below. It is a shining of the Sun of Life, not a mountain of experience. Yet it is a Call to experience, for faith, belief, hope, are not enough.

In mighty visions, in startling perceptions of Truth, in cataclysmic adjustments of natural phenomena, in catastrophic evolutionary revolutions, in great acts of sacrifice and heroism, in humble unknown lives of simple devotion, no less than in the teachings of great Teachers or in the words of great Scriptures, often stand revealed fragments of God's knowledge of Himself. For the manifestation of the glorious in any is living witness to the existence of the glorious in all. When God reveals even the veriest fragment of Himself, He reveals to each and to every one of us a fragment of our own eventual knowledge of ourselves. For as He is God Victorious, so are we Gods conquering.

WAY BEYOND DEATH.

Thus does Theosophy seek entry into the little microcosms of us all, changing, adjusting, interpreting, prophesying, declaring, exalting, unfolding. It takes our various problems and shows us the way to mastery over them all. It shows us whence we have come—what was before birth and long, long ago. It shows us in all detail the nature of our present being in its manifold expressions of Life. It shows us where we are on Life's Ladder, which reaches from earth to heaven. It shows us our way beyond death, beyond deaths innumerable, beyond life after life, right to the ladder's summit—to the individual kingship of each one of us, to the God Victorious, which each and all shall some day be.

Theosophy unveils the mystery of death, thus robbing it of all its gruesomeness, of all its power to cause us fear, of all its power to make us desolate. Theosophy unveils the mystery of sorrow, of grief, of misery, of unhappiness, thus revealing them as friends, and not as enemies. Theosophy endows us with knowledge and wisdom that these may take the place of crippling and stultifying doubt. Above all, Theosophy gives us courage, for it reveals to us a Future Triumphant rising Phoenix-like out of the coldest ashes of present desolation. Theosophy wakens hope asleep, and touches every cloud with the silver of its lofty purpose. Theosophy gives Freedom, showing it to be most glorious when the eager servant of Order, of Law, of Godlike Destiny. Theosophy gives a Friendship which few of us as yet know, showing us that there is but one Life, that this Life is everywhere and in all things, in every kingdom of nature, in the very least of the things we can touch, or see, or taste, or smell, or hear: thus making of the whole universe a family, with God, the Father-Mother, with innumerable, countless Gods the children—brothers all. Theosophy is the Science of Freedom and the Science of Friendship. It is the Science of Understanding, and therefore of Appreciation. It is the Science of Seeking, of Achieving, of Sharing and of Happiness radiant in them all.

And in the Theosophical Society we have a unique movement, in which we may seek Theosophy together, and find it differently; in which we may live its Freedom and its Friendship in ever-increasing purity and power; and through which we may help the world to travel more quickly on its way from darkness to Light.

Theosophy and the Theosophical Society—gifts from those who have found to those who are still in search: gifts which illumine the way of each where he is, causing it to become a Way of Happiness even though still a Way of Hardship. But as each gift is used its light increases, until at last its possessor attains the supreme discovery that he is the Light, and that as he shines so does he becomes.

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Beginnings Of The Big National Struggle

(Continued from Page 33)

spirit of comradeship for a common political goal was most difficult of achievement. Yet I have no hesitation to say that the impartial historian of the National struggle will have to record his verdict to the effect that these pioneer patriots achieved remarkable success in this matter. In numbers and dimensions their operations may look small and narrow, but we have to bear in mind that we are standing on their shoulders and are, therefore, able to see our goal more clearly and that we are working on the solid vantage ground they had succeeded in winning from our opponents and consolidating it into a stronghold for us to carry on our further operations.

Approach To The Masses

The Congress had to deal with masses who were considered to be most and wholly impervious to political thought. There were no means in those days of early eighties or nineties of the last century to approach the masses with the gospel of their political emancipation. People were generally illiterate and the few who were familiar with the Three Rs. with a little smattering of English were generally absorbed in the Government services or those of semi-Governmental bodies. Vernacular journalism was in an embryonic state. To be frank, the district officer and his subordinates in the Tahsil towns were in greater touch with the people than the few educated persons who were slowly emerging from towns as leaders of public opinion. Another difficulty that beset the path of the political worker in those early days of the Congress in the field of creating a living interest in the masses was due to the zeal for social and religious reform shown by the first products of English education. The society at large respected them for their oratory and other intellectual gifts, but generally treated them as out-castes. The inauguration of movements of religious reform like the Brahmo-Samaj in Bengal and Prarthana Samaj in Bombay by the most highly educated Indians of the day had a very baneful effect on the attitude of the general public towards the educated community as a whole. It was one of apathy, if not antipathy. The result was that the scattered efforts for political upheaval of the people made in Poona, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras in the pre-Congress days were mainly the work in which the handful of educated men living in the cities and towns were really interested. Even the urban population hardly took any notice of it, not to speak of the dumb-toiling millions living in the vast rural areas of the country. The work carried on by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association, Madras Mahajan Sabha and the Calcutta East India Association has certainly great importance inasmuch as these bodies at least succeeded in forcibly drawing the attention of the educated people to the thousand and one disabilities imposed by foreign rule and pointedly drew their attention to the necessity of taking up to certain constitutional remedies to combat the evil. It undoubtedly gave some impetus to the serious study of public problems among them and establish some kind of organisations or clubs all over the country to discuss and deliberate over them. None can underate the importance of the services rendered by these public bodies under the guidance of far-seeing statesmen like the late M. G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Ananda Charlu and Subramanya Iyengar. But it appears that these great men were more than alive to or if I may say so, ever chafing at the limitations within which they were compelled to carry on the work of their political education.

Press As Medium Of Propaganda

As soon as vernacular journalism began to show unmistakable signs of a vigorous growth and hold out a promise of becoming a reliable medium to carry the message of these educated leaders country and thus build up a strong and robust public opinion, these leaders began to feel the necessity of starting an All-India organisation in order to focus at least once in a year in one centre the public opinion expressed by the public bodies on various questions of Imperial and Provincial importance, as also to give a right and definite lead to the Indian journalists and other publicists who were approaching the general public in shaping their views. In Bombay and Bengal vernacular journalism had given distinct signs of becoming a power in their own Provinces in the near future. This rise of a new power in the land could not escape the notice of shrewd politicians and intelligent observers of public movements like late Justice Ranade, Telang and others. It is stated in certain quarters, and probably it may be correct even that the Congress organisation owes its origin and existence to the inspiration of a Viceroy of India and an ex-civilian A. O. Hume. This country can never be too grateful to late A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and a few other Englishmen for their able and disinterested advocacy of the Indian peoples' cause and the great troubles they took in giving their helping hand to rear the Great National Institution in its early days of infancy. A suggestion from Viceroy is nothing but an accidental cause which might have simply supplied the great Indian politicians of the day with an opportunity to translate into a material and tangible form an idea over which they have been undoubtedly pondering for a number of years. Otherwise it is impossible to account for the great and spontaneous response given by the public men when the second sessions of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man. I regard the establishment of the Indian National Congress as the natural and inevitable result of the constitutional political efforts that were being carried on for a number of years by leading public men in different Provinces after the armed revolt of the nation to regain its independence was suppressed by the British military force and the Government of India passed into the hands of the British Crown from those of the East India Company. They were scattered and the need for an organisation to co-ordinate them together required as a condition precedent the existence of an effective medium to interpret the ideas of the leaders of the general public in their own vernaculars. I yield to none in acknowledging the great obligations under which our countrymen were laid in the infant stage of political awakening by some high-souled Englishmen. All that I want to emphasise is that a mere stray suggestion even if it has come from the constitutional head of the Heaven-born service would not have been a tangible fact and a powerful force in an instant, had there been no real demand for it created by the efforts of a generation of intellectual giants who laid the very foundations of public life in this country.

Official Suspicions

In the first few years of the existence of the Indian National Congress, the leaders of the movement were naturally anxious to dispel the doubts that had arisen in the minds of those who were, owing to their own selfish ends, not at all favourably inclined towards the political aspirations of the people of India. The movement was viewed with great suspicion in the official circles here and the political circles in England. We find considerable space in the Presidential addresses delivered from the pulpit of the Congress in those days devoted to the refutation of charges of disloyalty on one hand and clarification of its aims and objects which were stated to be to act as a faithful interpreter between the people and the Government, on the other. It would be more correct to say that the Indian National Congress was educating public opinion and also interpreting it to the authorities concerned. The intolerat bureaucracy resented this intervention by popular organisation in favour of the dumb millions of whose interest it was till then considering itself as the sole and undisputed custodian. The sudden and spontaneous response given by the Nation to this great National institution was a challenge to the pretensions of the official to pose themselves as the champion of the interests of the people of this country. The sudden success of the Congress movement in securing popular support had aroused an attitude which just assumed the form of indifference and then by gradual process of deterioration degenerated into one of contempt, ultimately culminating into one of open-hostility.

Circulars prohibiting the Government servants from joining the Congress movement was the earliest symptom of the malady of suspicion which was slowly, but surely undermining the body politic of the Indian Government. Prosecuting a few leading public men for sedition and the Viceroy's refusal to see its President and receive the resolutions through him were some of the severe signs of the policy of harassment and hostility pursued by the Government towards the Congressmen at a somewhat later stage. The great leaders of the Congress among whom Sir Pherozeshah Mehta towered head and shoulders above the rest, skillfully piloted their newly-launched boat through the stormy seas of official suspicion and hostility. The Congress successfully surmounted the difficulties and emerged out stronger and more triumphant.

In reviewing the work done by the Congress in this first period, 1885 to 1905, there are besides vindication of its loyalty and constitutionalism referred to above, some salient features which deserve special mention. This was a period when the Congress movement was carried on without any constitution. On several occasions during this period some prominent delegates like late Lala Lajpat-Rai and B. G. Tilak had drawn attention of the Congress to the necessity of framing a constitution but the question was shelved on one ground or another from time to time till the fateful day of the crisis at Surat.

In the presidential addresses a good deal of emphasis is given to keep the deliberations of the Congress confined purely to political problems and political grievances. Thus all discussion of problems relating to social and religious reforms were scrupulously excluded from the work to be done by the Congress.

Touching Faith In British Justice

It will also be clear to all who carefully study the Congress literature of these early days that the leaders of this great National movement had a tremendous faith in the sense of British justice. As they believed and rightly believed that their cause was just and righteous, they felt no misgivings about its ultimate success through the methods of pursua-

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Beginnings Of The Big National Struggle

(Counted from Page 80)

sion. They regarded the existence of the unpopular system of government in this country resulting in innumerable grievances of the people as due to ignorance of the British public and politicians of the real and actual state of things in British India. All that was deemed necessary was to interpret the Indian peopes' demands to the British people in order to awaken their sense of justice. To that end these pioneer patriots had been working hard.

A careful study of the Congress resolutions from 1885 to 1905 shows that it stood unflinchingly for liberty of speech and liberty of the press without which all efforts to create a strong public opinion and a popular party was bound to prove futile. We might as well say that the stand of the Congress for these two inalienable rights of free citizenship is the seed out of which has grown the demand for a full-fledged declaration of rights such as we have it now embodied in the resolution adopted at the Karachi sessions of the Congress in 1931.

DEMOCRACY DEMAND

The third thing which cannot, but arrest the attention of the student of the history of our struggle of this period is that almost all the great founders of this movement looked upon the establishment of democracy in this country on the model of British Parliament as the panacea for all the evils even for the problem of the Indian poverty. It no doubt took a long time for them to define their goal in a definite demand for Swaraj. But there was that craving for some system of democracy from the very beginning. This explains their demand in the early sessions of the Congress for an increased representation of the people of this coutry on an elective basis in the legislatures, central and provincial, and the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State in Engand.

These resolutions coupled with those on Indianisation of the civil services, separation of judicial and executive functions, retrenchment of Military expenditure and the Indianisation of the Army mark the humble beginnings of the stream of demands for constitutional reforms; which have gone through several stages and have now assumed the form of the demand for complete Independence (Poorna Swarajya).

The persistent demand for these reforms from the Congress platform had compelled the British Parliament considerably to modify the laws relating to the Government of India in the years 1891, 1910 and 1920. Those who maintain that the demand of the Congress for the last 40 years has been simply a cry in the wilderness and resulted in no tangible achievements to its credit and to the benefit of the Indian people, are either suffering from short memories or from an incorrect appreciation of the political reforms brought about mainly by the agitation carried on in this country by the Indian National Congress.

NO FREE TRADE

The history of these reforms demonstrates the usefulness of maintaining the Congress agency in England to carry on a necessary propaganda there to remove misunderstandings and create correct undertakings. The Congress in those days had a leaning towards the dogmas and doctrines preached by the school of liberal politicians in England. But the Congress never blindly adopted the programme of the liberal party without examining it carefully in light of the special conditions and requirements of this rountry. The Indian economists in the Congress rejected the doctrine of free trade for which the Liberal Party stood unflinchingly under the leadership of Cobden Bright and Bradlaugh, as entirely unsuited to the economic conditions existing in this country and strongly censured the Government for not inaugurating a policy of protection to help Indias industrial and economic progress.

Even in this field the Congress agitation has, I venture to say, succeeded to a great extent. The Fiscal Commission at a later date made a recommendation in favour of the policy of discrminate protection and the Government of India accepted this recommendation and established a permanent Tariff Board to carry on a searching investigation from year to year into the conditions of several Indian industries which deserve to be protected.

Fiscal autonomy under the Montford reforms, fictitious as it had proved to be, was but a more developed state of the rudimentary efforts for economic emancipation made by the Congress in the early days.

Another striking feature of the Congress resolutions is that most of them related to grievances of the masses of this country arising out of the measures of the Government or their maladministration by the Executive officers. These resolutions concerned the every-day problems of the life of the general public as affected by the official measures and the movements of its machinery. Congress largely succeeded in appealing to the classes and masses mainly on account of these sundry resolutions on questions which vitally touched the problems of their bread and butter and their cots and cattles. Classes and masses had discovered in the Congress a very strong and serviceable machine to focus their views and make themselves vocal so loudly as to compel the Government to listen to their crying needs. Every department of the Government was thus systematically brought under the fire of searching criticism of the Congress and arising therefrom popular grievances faithfully and forcibly voiced at its annual session. The usefulness of this kind of work cannot be exaggerated even in these days. Pity it is that we have not sufficient number of trained servants who will be prepared to go patiently through the drudgery of the dusty blue-books and intelligently condense the materials thus collected and present the result of their labours in an intelligent and effective manner with concrete suggestions for the ameliorations of the poor people in the form of businesslike resolutions.

The method which the Congress followed was one of approaching the Powers that be with the demands embodied in the resolutions and ask their English friends and their own Committee in London to intervene with the Parliament on behalf of the Indian National Congress or the Indian people. A very useful propaganda for the Indian ptople was regularly carried on in England through 'India' a monthly magazine run by a few English friends of India in England who had formed themselves into the British Congress Committee and also an Indian Parliamentary Committee under the leadership of late Sir William Wedderburn. The organ was financially supported by the Indian National Congress. This was the first phase of the Congress activities and this phase lasted to the year 1905 that is about a score of years from its birth.

This period of Congress agitation is very often designated as a period of mendicancy. Judged purely from an objective point of view that description is not doubt correct to some extent. But I venture to submit that such sweeping characterisation like all diplomatic generalisations are only half

(Continued on Page 92)

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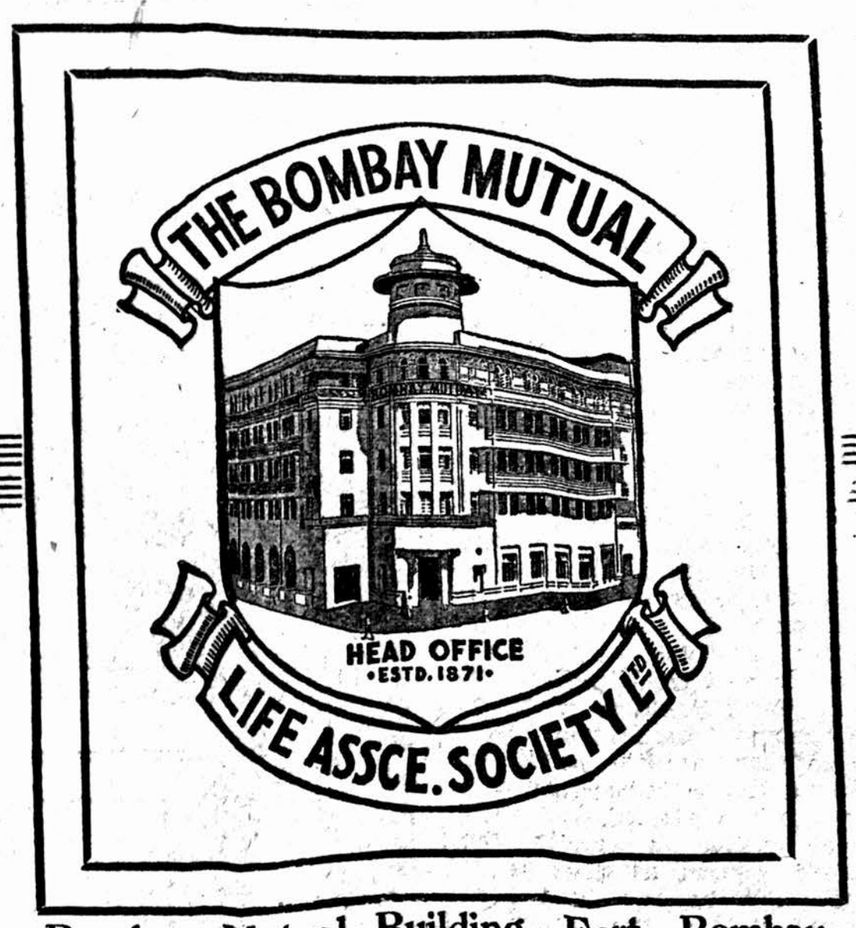

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The Elusive Black Diamond

SPRANGE THE SQUEALER

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(3)

Detective-Inspector Dan Wayne lifted the receiver as his telephone bell shrilled.

"Yes? Who is it? Man wants to speak to an officer about Tim Martin? Put him through. Yes. This is the officer dealing with the case. Who are you? Bert Sprange, eh? All right, Sprange, this is Inspector Wayne speaking. Yes, there might be something going for information. Come and see me. Too dangerous, eh? All right, where can I see you? The White Duck, Brixton Oval Saloon Bar. Seven tonight? Right. I'll be there and I'll see that you are looked after."

He hung up the receiver and his lips formed into a soundless whistle. For Bert Sprange, although a nasty type of humanity, had his uses, and apparently Sprange had somehow stumbled into some news of great value concerning the escape of Tim Martin. He pressed his bell and summoned his assistant, Sergeant Fruby.

"We're going down to Brixton, to-night, Jim," he said. "Bert Sprange has just 'phoned up. . ."

"Sprange? That's the Brixton squealer!" broke in Fruby.

"Quite right. Well Sprange has got hold of something concerning the disappearance of Tim Martin. That means, of course, something involving the Black Diamond, and consequently it spells danger to Sprange, although he doesn't realize it, as far as I could make out. Arrange to have a couple of men put on at once to look after Sprange. One will watch his lodgings and the other will tail him up. Perhaps that will keep the Black Diamond off him. Get to it now."

"Trust me!" said Fruby, as he hurried away to carry out his instructions. These performed to his satisfaction, he visited the White Duck, and, having surveyed the ground, he returned to the Yard to report.

Meanwhile Dan Wayne had spent a fruitless day in checking up on the reports which had come in, and in telephonic enquiries to the Devonshire police. Yet, although a General Call had been circulated, no news had been received of either Tim Martin or his escort. They seemed to have left the prison, and then disappeared into the air.

At six-thirty he drove down to Brixton, and, leaving his car at a convenient point, strolled slowly to the White Duck.

The detective flung off the stra p—and jerked back the lid.

It was five minutes before the hour of seven as he pushed open the door of the saloon bar and entered, to see Sergeant Fruby sitting at a table with a glass of beer before him, apparently engrossed in his evening paper. There was only one other occupant of the bar, a fat, swarthy man engaged in conversation with a barmaid. The detective-inspector ordered a drink, and carrying it over to a table near Fruby, sat leisurely filling his pipe.

The cuckoo from the radio set in the bar was piping seven o'clock when the door of the bar was opened and a thin, rat-faced, little man entered. It was Bert Sprange. His watery, blue eyes flickered furtively round the room and fixed themselves on Dan Wayne. The detective-inspector made no sign as Sprange walked to the bar, ordered a double whisky and tossed it, undiluted, down his throat. Then he turned to leave, and, as he did so, made a sign for Dan Wayne to follow.

Finishing his drink, the detective lit his pipe and strolled slowly from the bar. At the same time, the rustle of a newspaper from behind denoted that Fruby was moving also.

As the Inspector walked away from the brilliant lights of the public house, the little figure of Bert Sprange detached itself from the darkness.

"I ain't going to talk in the street!" he said. "I'm too windy. Come to my room. It's only round the corner."

"What's up, Sprange, What's scared you,"

"I ain't taking no chances. Some bird's been trailing me all day. Who is he, eh? That's what I want to know."

"Don't you worry yourself. We'll look after you."

Sprange grunted but would not speak, and in silence the two entered the digny block of tene- s where the informer rented a small room. He closed the door carefully when they were once inside, and then placed a chair for his guest as far away from the door as possible.

"You promised me something," he said cunningly. "How about it?"

"If your information's worth it you'll get a fiver. It might be more," said Dan Wayne, inwardly loathing his little companion.

"O. K." agreed Sprange. "Well, the three fellows who planned the job of getting Martin away, hang out here in Brixton. I was in the Cat and Trout in the High Road, the other night. Lots of the boysy were there. Harry Magree and Sam Harris were talking to a bloke. They evidently came to some agreement and the three left, taking a bottle of Scotch with them. I thought there was something good on, so I followed. They went to Harry Magree's place and I stuck to them. Risked my neck I did too. Well this bloke offered 'em a hundred quid each to go down to Dartmoor with him and help 'im on a job. He told them some yarn that he'd got a whisper from a pal of his down there that Tim Martin was being shifted to another place because someone was trying to get him. He said that he'd got hold of the order for Martin's release and showed 'em some paper. Martin, he said, was a pal of his and he'd made all the arrangements. He kidded them that there was no risk if they did exactly as they were told, and said that he'd give them fifty quid down and the balance when they'd delivered Martin over to him. They wrangled a bit, but by the time they'd finished the bottle of Scotch they'd agreed. I had to clear out then or I'd probably been spotted."

"Did you notice anything funny about this fellow?" asked Dan Wanye. "What was he like?"

Sprange thought a minute before he replied, and the detective could tell by his shifty look that a string of lies was about to be told him.

"Don't give me any bunk!" he snapped. "I suppose you actually didn't notice much about him, eh?"

"That's a fact," admitted the little man unabashed. "He was a pretty tall fellow about the same build as Harry Magree. There weren't anything special about him, except that he'd got a glove on his right hand. But I reckon I'd know his voice again. Peculiar voice he'd got."

"All right," agreed the detective. "Keep your eyes open. I'll send you along your money. Have you seen anything of Megree or Harris lately?"

"No," replied Sprange. "They've cleared out of Town by the look of it. Got the wind up I expect."

"Well, if you see anything, or hear any whispers about them, give me the tip." He put on his hat and turned to go but stopped as the little man began to speak.

"That fellow . . ." he began. "He lost something while he was in the pub talking to Harry Magree, and I found it."

"You frisked his pockets, that's what you mean I suppose., What did he lose, eh?"

"This," said Sprange. He dived his hand into his pocket and produced a flat, leather case which he handed to the detective. He opened it, and, to his surprise, found inside a key of a similar type to the one which the Black Diamond had taken from Sturmer in the house at Norwood; and, folded in an inner compartment, another portion of the same map. With an effort he concealed his interest from the informer.

"What's the good of these?" he

(Continued on Page 84)

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The Elusive Black Diamond

(Conitnued from Page 83)

asked. "Might be anything by the look of them. I'd better take charge of them. Take a tip from me and don't open your mouth to anyone about this business. The fellow you saw talking to Magree is very dangerous. He whispers with an automatic."

He concealed the case containing the map and key in his pocket, and, slipping unnoticed from the building, made his way back to the Yard. Here, at the control-board of police activities, he was soon at work, and, within an hour of his return, the police telegraph was busy rapping out, to every station in London, the description of Harry Magree and Sam Harris, with instructions to bring them in when found. But although thousands of expert eyes scanned the streets for the wanted men, Dan Wayne, sitting in his office on the following day and sifting the reports which had come through, found not the slightest item of reliable information about either Magree or Harris. As the informer had said, both had evidently dived for cover, immediately the job had been done.

It was during the afternoon that the detective-inspector again heard from Sprange, and this time the little informer was full of excitement and drink.

"I've found him!" his voice shrilled over the telephone, "and . . . I've found out who he is. You'd never guess, the cunning devil. Still it takes a smart lad to fool me! I'll pick you up in the White Duck at the same time as yesterday. Then you can come and get him yourself. I'll keep my eye on him until this evening."

"You'd better tell me now, what you know!" snapped the detective, "I'll see that. . ."

"Not me!" broke in Sprange. "I'm not frightened of him. Beside I want money down for all the risk I'm taking, before I spill the beans. He looks a tough bird to me, and you'd better bring a gun. I'll be seein' you!"

Dan Wayne heard the receiver click on the hook as the informer rang off, and muttered a malediction on the foolishness of the little man. He sat a moment thinking of his best line of action. Then he piched up the house telephone.

"Send up those three men who are waiting to see me," he ordered.

The Three C. I. D. men who had been awaiting his instructions soon arrived, and Dan Wayne picked up their reports from the desk before him.

"I see you have had no luck so far with Magree and Harris. Can't be helped. I suppose they've dived for cover. I want one of you to concentrate on the dog-racing tracks. Magree used to be a regular racegoer when he was in funds. You'll stand a good chance of picking him up there. He's obviously disguised himself a bit. But remember that Magree is dangerous, be carries a gun, and if you find him, get someone on hand with you before you collar him. The other two of you will go down to Brixton and pick up Sprange, the informer, again. Don't let him know that you're watching him, at any price. He's treading on dangerous ground and he's picked up something vitally important, but the fool's got drunk. I don't want him bumped off. He's meeting me in the saloon bar of The White Duck at Brixton Oval at seven to-night. Whether you pick him up or not, one of you will go into the bar there just before seven. The other will stand-by outside in case of trouble. Don't do anything unless I signal. There may be other people in the bar on the watch beside us. Ring through when you've picked up Sprange. Right?"

An enquiry of another nature engrossed the detective-inspector's attention for the remainder of the afternoon, and it was just after six when he returned to his office to find a message awaiting him from one of the men he had sent to track down Sprange. To his surprise, it stated that the two men had failed to find any trace of the informer, and that cautious enquiries at his lodgings had furnished no details of his movements.

Dan Wayne sat pondering over this report for some time. At last he picked up his hat and coat, and set off for Brixton to keep his appointment. He soon arrived near The White Duck, and, as he approached, he noticed one of his detectives outside. Entering the bar he ordered a drink and carried it to a table. Then, leisurely filling his pipe, he glanced around the room.

He saw Jim Fruby, his assistant, sitting reading a paper with a glass of beer before him and, at another table, the second watcher, engaged in conversation with a stranger.

The door of the bar was opened and shut several times, and on each occasion Dan Wayne expected to see the little figure of Spdange appear. At last, after fifteen minutes had passed, he made a sign to Fruby, and leisurely left the bar.

Once outside the public house, he soon confirmed the report that no trace had been found of the little man. A premonition of trouble flashed through Dan Wayne's mind. Accompanied by Fruby and one of the men, he made his way towards the informer's lodgings, leaving one man to wait outside The White Duck, in case Sprange should appear.

The party arrived at the dingy block of tenements where Sprange lived, and made their way without question up the stairs. The door leading into the room which the informer occupied was unlocked. They pushed it open and entered, but there was no sign of their quarry. It was not until they had subjected the room to a thorough examination that they found the clue which was eventually to lead them to the little informer. A screwed-up piece of paper was lying under the grate.

Dan Wayne smoothed it out and read the message scrawled upon it:

> Do you want ten quid? If you do come to 109 Cranbly Street and ask for Smith. Another ten quid if you can bring a suit of clothes about your own size.

The detective-inspector whistled as he read this.

"There's a little rat for you," he said. "He was to get a fiver out of me, but the prospects of twenty quid drove him frantic. Either of you know where Cranbly Street is? You know it, Jim? Good!

He turned to the second man.

"I want you to stop here. If Sprange turns up, pull him in as a suspected person and run him round to the station. The silly little fool will get himself wiped out before he's finished!"

Accompanied by his assistant, he hurried away from the tenement, and, after brisk walk, they soon arrived at 109 Cranbly Street. It proved to be quite a respectable road and when they knocked upon the door, a pleasant-faced woman opened it to them.

"Mr. Smith, Sir?" she said. "Yes he lives here. I suppose you are the friends he expected. He said that you were to go to his room and wait. He'll be back any minute, but he told me to show you to his room."

She led the way to a room on the ground floor, and switching on the electric light, she left them.

As soon as the door had closed, the two detective began an intensive examination of the room. There was nothing of the slightest interest to them there, but, weighed down by an ornament upon the mantelpiece, they found a cloak-room receipt from a railway terminus station.

Half-an-hour passed and Dan Wayne began to feel suspicious. He turned to his assistant.

"Jim," he said. 'think we're being stung. This business runs along too suspiciously smooth for me. It's a funny thing that we find a note giving us a pointer to this place, and when we get here, there's no sign of our man, but we find another clue. You stop in this house, and if Sprange or Smith turn up, pull them in and lodge them in the station till I come along. I'm going on to investigate this cloak-room ticket. Keep your eyes open for we're up against a very wily customer."

He hurried from the house, and meeting the landlady on the step, explained that an appointment obliged him to go, but that his companion would wait.

The idea which had been forming in his mind during his enforced wait, began to strengthen. A short cross-examination of the woman, be felt, might save him a lot of time.

"Did Mr. Smith have a visitor to-day?" he asked.

"No, sir," replied the woman. "He's been out most of the day, but he brought no visitor back with him when he came. He merely said that he was expecting some friends, and would I ask them to wait until he came back. He's evidently been delayed."

"I suppose this is the Mr. Smith that I expected to see," remarked Dan Wayne. "A big man, Tall with broad shoulders, wears a glove on his right hand?"

That's my gentleman right enough, sir," smiled the woman.

"There seems no doubt about it," agreed Dan Wayne. "I'll call back later if I can, Thanks."

He walked briskly down the road, as he gained the main street, searched in vain for some quicker means of travel than the slow-moving buses and trams. Just as he had decided to risk a tram, he saw a taxi returning empty towards the West.

Diving through the speeding traffic he sprang upon the footboard and called to the surprised driver. In a few minutes the taxi was racing up the Vauxhall Bridge Road.

Flinging some coins to the driver, Dan Wayne hurried into the station, and with growing uneasiness rushed to the station-master's office. He presented his card and explained his mission, and, accompanied by the offiial, hurried to the cloak-room.

Within a few minutes the attendant produced the trunk for which he held the ticket and, at the detective's request, it was carried to the station-master's office.

Once inside, and secure from unauthorised observation, the detective flung off the straps from the large trunk and jerked back the lid. As he did so his jaw set grimly. For within the trunk holding a card bearing a black diamond upon it, lay little Sprange the informer, shot through the heart.

(To be Continued on Sunday next)

In these days of **NATIONAL FESTIVITIES**
what is the uppermost in the mind of every **INDIAN?**

Support Indian Industries

During the next couple of months every house in Bombay will be using for their gramophones →

HUNDRED PER CENT SWADESHI RECORDS

Manufactured by:—

THE NATIONAL GRAMOPHONE RECORDS MFG., CO., LTD.,

92, Stock Exchange Buildings, Fort, BOMBAY.

For Particulars apply to the MANAGING AGENTS. *Factory:* WADALA, BOMBAY.

THE

JUPITER

GENERAL INSURANCE

COMPANY, Ltd.

Head Office:
BOMBAY.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL

Rs. 1,50,00,000

PAID-UP CAPITAL

Rs. 23,74,800

ASSETS EXCEED

Rs. 58,75,000

ALL KINDS OF

Insurance Transacted

Fire
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RECORD

BREAKING RESULTS

of

SECOND TRIENNIAL VALUATION

for period ending
30-6-1934.

BONUS

DECLARED

Rs. **17/-** for whole Life

Rs. **14/-** for other classes

Per thousand per Annum

•

B. J. MODY
Mg. Governor.

LALJI NARANJI & Co.,
Mg. Agents.

K. S. R. IYER
Secretary.

CHILDREN'S OWN CORNER

CONDUCTED BY

THE ALL INDIA CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATING BALKAN-JI-BARI

[MOTTO: EDUCATION & ENTERTAINMENT]

My dear Sisters & Brothers,

It is for you, Young India, to keep the faith that has brought our Motherland thus far, and not let it perish in these changing days.

Two things we have to keep, our Liberty and our Faith. Is there a God who will fit the facts? . . .Do not be deceived. Be still, and know that He is God. The Creator of the World, the Ruler of Mankind is not the invention of some ancient priest. Of course, the deeper we try to investigate, the more illimitable God is!

* * * *

YOU DESERVE CONGRATULATION TOO!

Our Country, at this time, is celebrating Golden Jubilee of the Congress—that premier organisation of our nation, which has been struggling and putting forth all kinds of efforts to win back the Freedom which we have long since lost. On this occasion, surely you deserve congratulations too—for your shave in the Struggle as well as in the Suffering has been no less than that of the elders.

. . . And then the end of it all, the eyes of our countrymen have already been opened: We shall be slaves no more, and we shall be respected wherever we may be . . . It is yours, Young India, to keep the faith of those who died and have suffered, that the thing they did, the thing they wrought for and the thing they fought for, shall not perish from the Earth!

CHILDREN'S CONGRESS JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

The Khar Branch of the All-India Children's Association have decided to celebrate the Congress Jubilee by having a Prabhat Pheri, organising sports, opening a Library and a Reading Room, and showing Educational Films to children. Full programme details from:

URMILA MEHTA
M. J. PARMAR.

COLOURING COMPETITION

(50 Prizes)

Colour the above picture as best as you can and post it to Dada—"Gulistan," Khar, Bombay, so as to reach him within a fortnight from to-day.

One Rupee will be awarded to a girl and a boy each for the best attempts received.

Forty-eight more prices in the shape of picture post cards of the Indian Leaders' photographs will also be given away to those, whose attempts may be found good enough.

All boys and girls studying upto Matric can take part in this Competition. Those who are enrolled in the Association must mention their Certificate Number; the others should enclose a one-anna stamp as entry fee.

Children of the same household, neighbourhood or class may send their entries all together in one cover. But every one must write his name, age, class of studies, whether boy or girl, and address quite legibly.

Result of the previous competitions will be announced in the next issue. In this issue will also be published the names of all brothers and sisters, who have been enrolled in the Association through the "Chronicle" Corner.

On the opposite page are given those children's protographs, which won prizes in the special competion held on 17th November last.

* * * *

THE PROMISE

A Short Story About A Gnome

A little gnome with his head on his breast struggled through the cold snow. He found travelling hard.

Presently he rested against a tree.

"How I wish the Spring Fairies would come now!" he said. "All the flowers would bloom and the sun would shine again!"

He had forgotten that, being a gnome, his wishes must come true. Suddenly the Spring Fairy appeared before him shivering in the snow.

"Why have you wakened me?" she said. "Why have you called me from my winter sleep? Do you not know I am the Spring Fairy, and this cold will kill me even as the snow and cold would kill the spring flowers?"

"I am sorry!" said the gnome. "I was thinking only of myself when I wished you were here again. I wish now I had not disturbed your winter sleep!"

The Spring Fairy smiled and said: "Thank you! You shall be given hope of brighter sunny days to come."

Then she vanished, but where she had stood there grew a little snowdrop.

The little gnome looked at the flower and knew well that it was a promise of spring. "How brave it is, that little flower, so small and weak," he said. "It braves the winter weather, then so can I!"

And the little gnome continued his journey with a glad, brave heart.

* * * *

ASKING TOO MUCH!

Mother was having great difficulty in getting Tommy to take his medicine, which had a very bitter taste.

Smilingly she approached his bed with the bottle and the teaspoon held in her hands.

"Now, Tommy," she said, coaxingly. "I know the medicine is not very nice, but it will make you get well ever so quickly. Be a good boy and take it like a man!"

"No, thank you, Mother," he cried. "I've read the instructions on the bottle, and it says that a man must take double the quantity!"

WANTED A CHILDREN'S LIBRARY

To The Editor of "The Chronicle"

Sir,—Art, Literature and Science are progressing fast and with them the publication of books.

Books means Knowledge and Knowledge is Power.

But all cannot afford to have a Liberary and a Reading Room at home, therefore it is a duty of every Town and Village to found and maintain a good Library and a Reading Room.

We feel that Progressive Khar needs now an up-to-date Library and a Reading Room for the Young at least and also for the Old perhaps. The old may wait, but not the Young Children of to-day and the Citizens of to-morrow. Children are the foundation of a nation and they certainly need greater attention of the Elders.

The Khar Branch of the All-India Children's Association has decided to establish and organise a Model Library and Reading Room for the rising generation of Khar in particular and Children of the Suburbs in general.

The foundation of the Library and the Reading Room will be laid, not in bricks but in books for the present, as a humble offering to our great premier and pioneer organization, the Congress, on the Golden Jubilee Day.

May we, therefore, request the general public of Bombay and the citizens of Khar in particular to contribute their due share for the birth and maintenance of the said beneficient institutions. They would surely have the blessings of children for this good done to them.

Further particulars may be had from and contributions sent to the following address and they will be most thankfully received and acknowledged.—Yours etc.,

Urmila Mehta,
M. J. Parmar.
The All-India Children's Association C/O "Gulistan",
Khar, Bombay.

CHILDREN'S OWN PAPER

PUSHPA—The Children's Own Paper, full of interesting pictures and nice reading matter, edited by Shri, Hansa Mehta and Bro. Shewak Bhojraj will be out on 1st January, 1936.

To have an idea of the journal, please send for a specimen copy at once, which could be obtained by sending stamps worth one and a half annas only, to the following address:—

Dada—"Gulistan",
Khar—Bombay.

THE CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION.

Dear old readers, you know by now what the All-India Children's Association is? And, dear new readers, do you ever wish to know what it is? Then, why don't you send for full particulars and the enrolment form?

Please write to us, enclosing nine pies stamps only to cover the postage; also mention your age and intimate us your full address: We shall only be too glad to send you all information about it. Kindly send all communications directly to:—

Dada—"Gulistan."
Khar—Bombay.

All Good Wishes from
Your loving,
Dada

THEY'RE THE TOP
When it comes to Quality

Another dealer has a double-Barrelled reason for Pushing Sylvania Tubes.

They don't make any Better Tubes than Sylvania—that is one reason why I recommend them to my customers.

I never get "Kick Backs" Sylvanias satisfy my customers every time:

Another reason I push Sylvania is because I can make an extra profit selling them and in Radio business that extra profit helps the lot.

Sylvania knows dealers problems all over and they play good clean Ball: you bet I am satisfied with Sylvania Tubes.

Write to-day for information about Sylvania Profit plan policy, find out about the sales and technical helps that go to Sylvania dealers.

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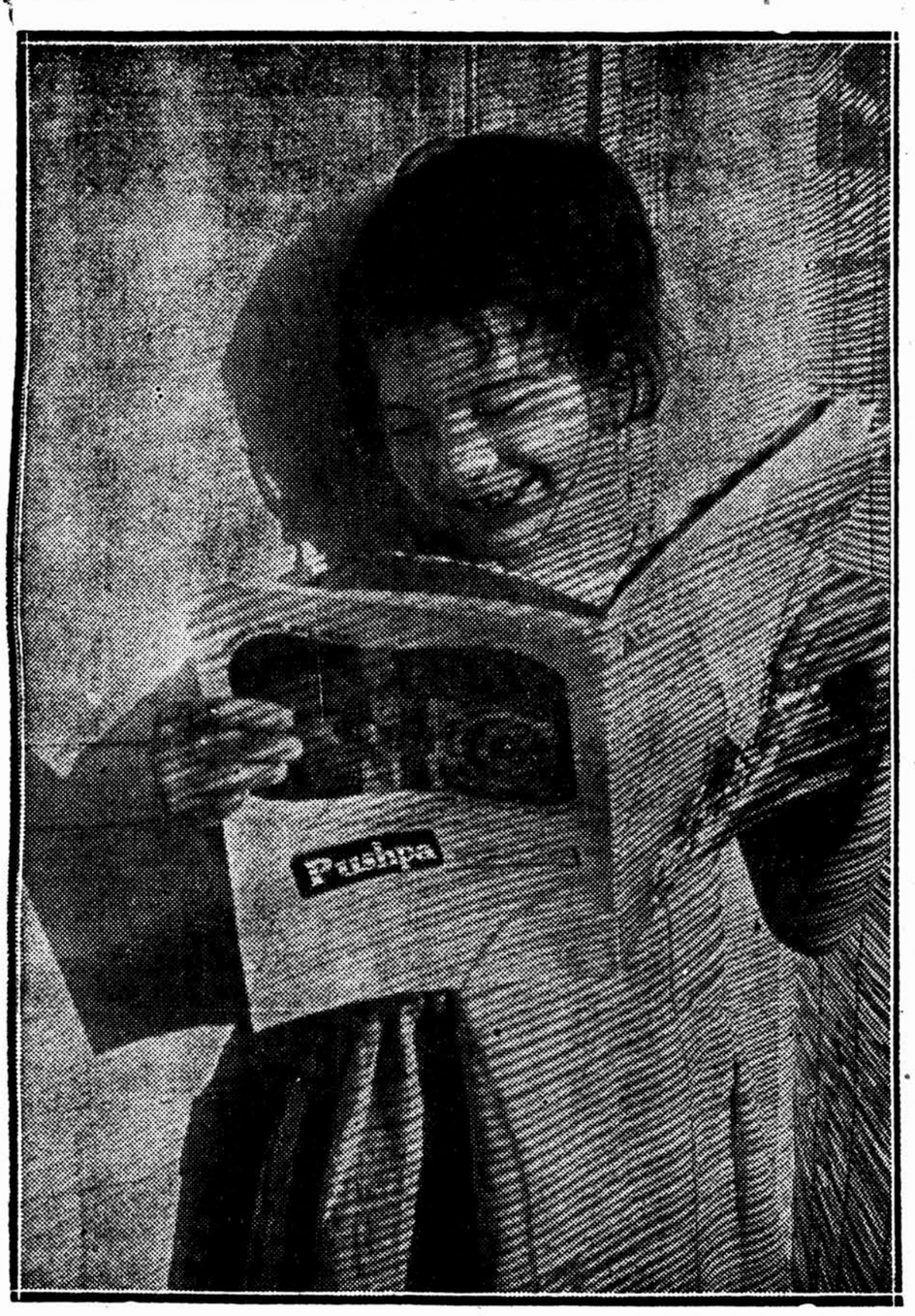
Delicately Perfumed. Removes hair neatly. Keeps the skin soft, smooth and white. No pain. 10 annas a bottle. Buy and be satisfied. V. P. 7 annas extra.

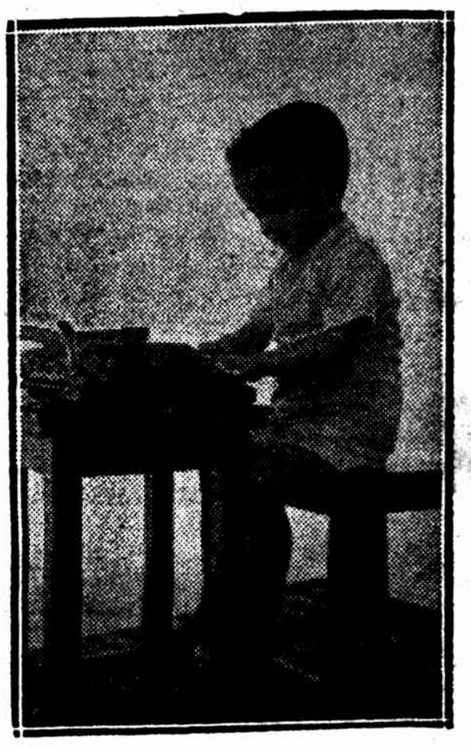
C. C. MAHAJAN & CO.,
281, Juma Musjid, Bombay 2.



The Happy Reader—By Z. M. Kadri (1st Prize: Rs. 3); Right: The Child-Bird, a free passenger on board S. S. Irawadi—By Dr. B. B. Hingorani.

...dian ... can help—By Miss

"Salaam"—By N. G. Limaye.



Tunnel in the Sand—By Mrs. Parekh (Re. 1); Left: "What is there?"—By R. V. Mehta; Right: The Young Typist—By V. R. Randive (Re. 1).

Pictures Please—By N. A. Parmar.

After-effects of "War"—By Lal Sainani (Re. 1.)

Right: "My Darling"—By P. K. Shah (2nd Prize: Rs. 2).

RAW PRODUCTS
Rs. 3,000 COMPETITION

1st Prize	2nd Prize	3rd Prize	Consolation Prizes
Rs. 1,500	**Rs. 750**	**Rs. 250**	**Rs. 500**

At a time when all true Sons of the Soil are thinking of celebrating in one form or another the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress we have selected a competition appropriate to the occasion as it has some bearing on Village Industries.

In the set of pictures on the left marked A. B. C are shown Raw Materials and animals from which articles as depicted in the other series of illustrations numbered 1, 2, 3 are produced.

You have to pick out combinations from these two series of pictures that is, a raw product, animal etc., from one and the corresponding manufactured article or preparation ready for the market from the other.

For instance illustration "D" shows wheat from which bread is made, as depicted in illustration No. 17. You, therefore, have to enter No. 17 against "D" in the coupon.

Similarly fill in the rest of the coupon in respect of other pictures and submit your entries before 10th January, 1936, observing the following rules:—

1. When you have filled in all the Numbers write your name and address in full stating number of entries enclosed and send your entries accompanied with an entrance fee of As. 8 for each entry either by hand delivery or through post as under: —

(a) HAND DELIVERY—Local competitors may, if they so wish hand over their entries at our Office with entrance fee of As. 8, in cash for each entry and obtain a receipt for the same. All entries will be received at the counter during office-hours from 11 a.m. to 6-30 p.m.

(b) REGISTERED POST and MONEY ORDERS—Entries by Registered Post and Money Orders must be sent to our Office address:—Competition Manager, "Red House" 140, Parsee Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay. (Registered covers or money orders to Post Box address will not be accepted by the Post Office).

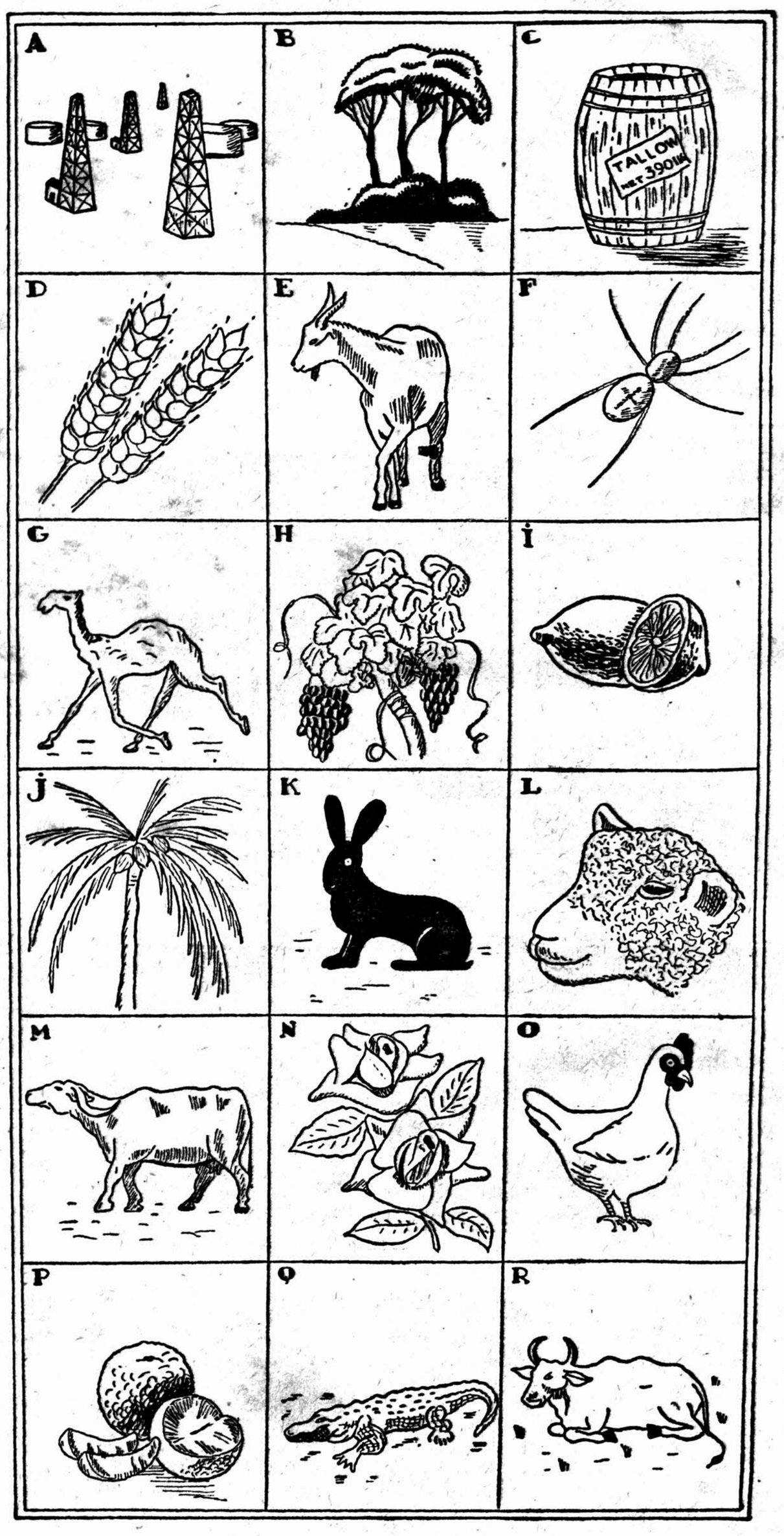
(c) ORDINARY POST—The covers must be addressed to the Competition Manager, Box No. 706, (Seven hundred and six), G. P. O., Bombay.

2. Competitor may submit any number of entries provided a separate entrance fee of EIGHT ANNAS in stamps of half or quarter anna, cash or by money order is sent for each entry. In case of remittance by Money Order the P. O. Receipt must accompany the Entries. A Competitor, however, cannot win more than one prize in this competition. Solution of this competition will be accepted only on our entry coupon.

3. Insufficient Entrance Fee enclosed with Entries will disqualify the Competitors submitting such entries.

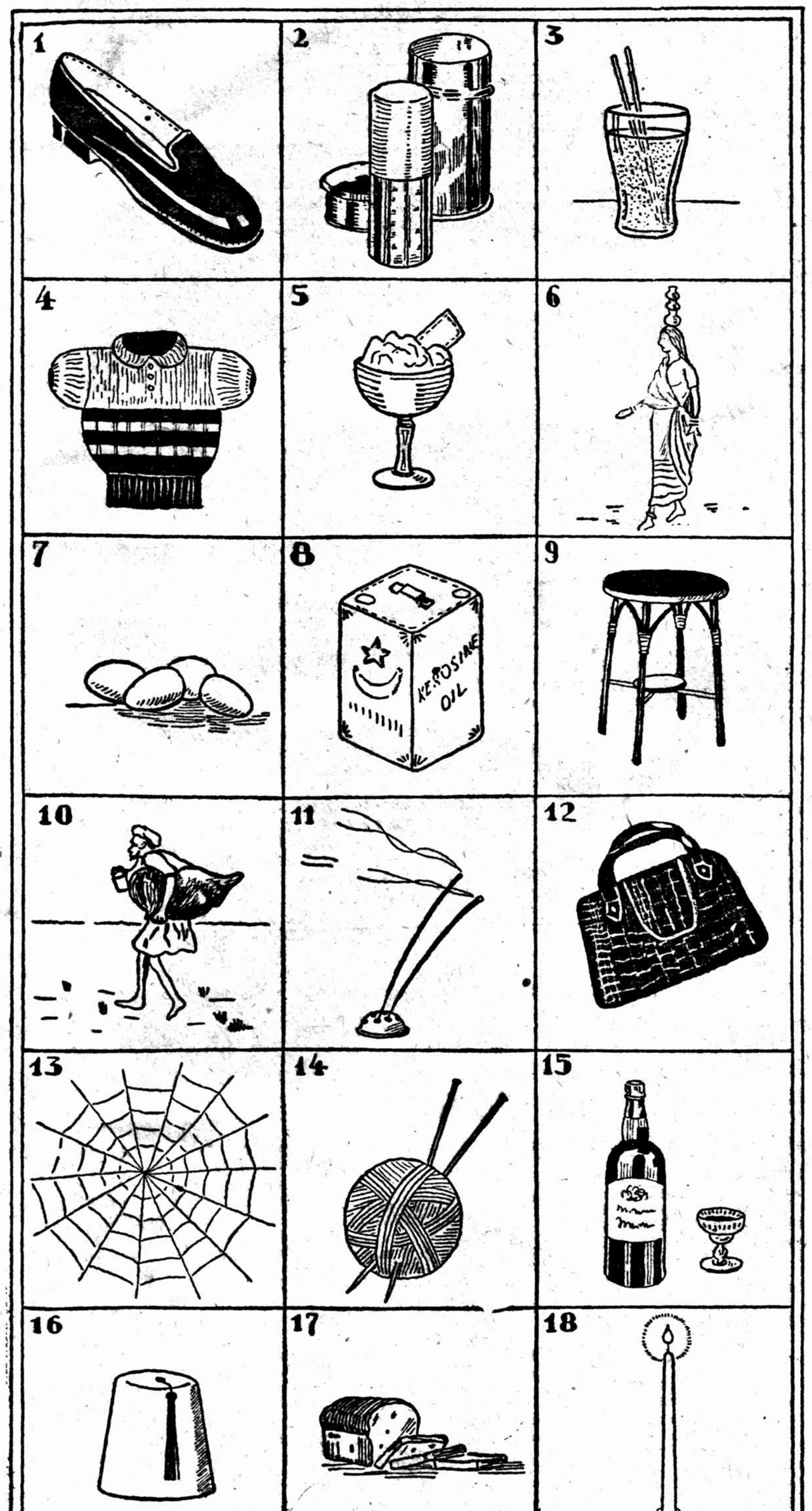
4. All entries must be received in this Office by the last Post on 10th January 1936 the closing date. Any entry received after this date will not be included in the competition.

5. Corrections or mutilations



RAW PRODUCTS COMPETITION Rs. 3,000

1st Prize	2nd Prize	3rd Prize	Consolation Prizes
Rs. 1,500	Rs. 750	Rs. 250	Rs. 500



Closing Date 10th January, 1936.

(Continued from opposite page)

of entries will disqualify the competitor.

6. In case of ties, the management reserves the right to distribute the Prize Money among the winning competitors in any manner they like

7. No responsibility is accepted for any entry mislaid, lost or delayed No correspondence will be entered into or interviews granted All competitors enter this competition on the distinct understanding that the Competition Manager's decision is absolutely final and legally binding in all matters pertaining to this competition This is an express condition of entry

8. It is a combined competition exclusively for the 'Bombay Chronicle' Sunday Edition the "Bombay Samachar" Sunday Edition and the 'Bombay Sentinel". The Prizes will be announced on the 19th January, 1936.

ENTRY COUPON.

Illustrations.	Illustrations.
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Name.....

Address.....

.....

Please write Name and Address in block letters.

Books And Their Writers

NEW NOVELS

THE TERROR OF THE NOISELESS SOUND. By John F. C. Westerman. Ward, Lock and Co. 3/6.

PIONEER PAT. By Ethel Talbot. Ward Lock and Co. 2/6.

Uncles in quest of X'mas sent for their nephews and nieces may safely invest a few shillings in the purchase of the above two books. Mr. Westerman has written an interesting story of a modern bandit who makes illegal use of a "disintegrating ray," to blackmail a small town, the sort of thing which a modern nation does to other nations with the compliance of bishops and judges and all the pious luminaries of the realm. The modern bandit drugs a professor who has invented these death-rays, hypnotises him and uses him ruthlessly for his own ends. Billy Dickson, of the air-lines and his friend Lieutenant Peter Prockter with the help of an autogiro are able to trace the source of this mysterious and invisible enemy of their city. The difficulties they face in these untoward circumstances and the dangers they surmount should make this book interesting to our modern boys.

Miss Ethel Talbot's "Pioneer Pat" is a story for girls, specially for girls whose hobby is books. Pioneer Pat is a lovable character with a genuine fondness and love for books. She is a book-lover, who has a kind word and a good book for everybody, because she is not bookish nor a book-worm but has a human and kindly disposition for all types of readers. She makes the dilapidated shop of Mrs. Hoggins, whose chief interest in life is Somerset Farm, into a great success. It is a pleasure to read this book.

R. V.

CLIMBS TO THE STARS: Denise Robins, Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 2/6 net.

Denise Robins is one of the popular writers of fiction. She has a pleasant simple style, and she does not strain your nerves with long-winded, verbiage. She has a pleasant store of the acumen of her sex, and a keen insight into human nature. There is nothing catlish in her characters. If women are frail, well there they are, take them as they come to you. They are good and they are bad, and if they are bad they are not loathsome. In Climbs to the Stars, the hero is a handsome Irishman, with blue eyes and dark hair, and warm blood which have an irresistible appeal to his employer's daughter, a frail selfish beautiful creature, an heiress to her father's millions. Her father is a sort of a Ford, a rich car manufacturer, with a penchant for literature. He goes to Spain and Morroco accompanied by his daughter and Jane his Secretary. Both the girls love the handsome Irishman, who takes the place of his employer's chauffeur. Spain and Morroco, have an adequate background for romance, but Sonia is too self-centred to be interested in her surroundings. Her frivolity makes her lose her lover, who sees through her "passion" and in the end marries her cousin Jane. Madrid and the Riffian mountains, and the usual Arabs make the old theme interesting. It is a nice pleasant story, where heroism in not strained, where on every page we are in a world of human infirmities and human goodness.

R. V.

ROSE MARY by Rashid A. Munshi, Price 12 As.

Mr. Munshi has suffered much from bad proof reading. We sincerely hope that his future poems will receive greater attention from his printers. He has written on various subjects with feeling and enthusiasm.

R. V.

Novel By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

RAJMOHAN'S WIFE, by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Published by K. N. Chatterjee, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1/8.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Bengal's immortal writer and author of "Bande Mataram," the song of the nation, requires no introduction. His name is sufficient to bear testimony to the outstanding quality of any book to which it is attached. "Rajmohan's Wife" is Bankim Chandra's first novel, written in English, in serial form in 1864 in the "Indian Field" weekly, now long since defunct. It is from the moth-eaten files of "The Field" that Mr. B. N. Bannerjee has resurrected this piece of first class fiction and it is now for the first time that it is presented in book form.

The novel deals with village life in Bengal; the love, romance, intrigue, jealousy and superstition of the Indian villagers are all faithfully portrayed in a story that is as human as it is full of incident. The vividness with which he describes Indian scenes —be it the village maidens at the well or the verdant fields or the atmosphere within the Zenana—is incomparable.

The novel is a glorious addition to Indian fiction.

K. A. A.

---

remony of the "Uma-Sabha-Griha" at hands of H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. C. Publishers—Secretary, Jumma Dada Vyayam Mandir, Baroda).

This tiny booklet gives a short account of the origin and activities of the Jumma Dada Vyayam Mandir and sketches, in brief, the career of Mr. S. P. Bhagwat, the donor of the Uma Sabha Griha. Mr. Bhagwat had taken advantage of the Vyayam Mandir when he was a student at the Kala Bhavan, Baroda. Later, he settled in Sholapur and made a good name as a dyer and businessman. In gratitude to the Vyayam Mandir he has donated the Uma Sabha Griha to the above institution. He has it named after his mother.

R. B. I.

DECLINE OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES

RUIN OF INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES. By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. Rs. 2).

This is the third, revised and enlarged, edition of an old work, which is already popular with all those who are interested in the industrial development of India. It is a volume of over 250 pages packed with information or rather replete with quotations derived mainly from British sources. Though this method of treatment may be of help to the publicist who has not the leisure to go to the original sources, the ordinary student may not find the exposition equally to his liking. Nevertheless, Major Basu deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian economic development for having brought together within one volume much of the material that is available from official records and the writings of British administrators and businessmen on the subject of the decay and destruction of India's trade and industries.

Major Basu gives the following as the principal causes responsible for the decline of Indian trade and industries since the advent of British domination in India:

"1. The forcing of British free trade in India.

2. Imposing heavy duty on Indian manufactures in England.

3. The export of raw products from India.

4. Exacting Factory Acts.

5. The transit and customs duties.

6. Granting special privileges to Britishers in India.

7. Building railways in India.

8. Compelling Indian artisans to divulge their trade secrets.

9. Holding of exhibitions.

10. Investing so-called British capital in India.

11. The denial of self-government to India.

This summary of causes is neither exhaustive nor even logically correct, and one of the weaknesses of the book is the lack of any scientific analysis of economic forces or the absence of a synthetical treatment of the subject. To decry legislation for the protection of the rights and interests of industrial labour is neither sound economics nor sound politics. Although our political subjection has undoubtedly contributed most largely to our country's industrial decline, the influence of the economic forces unchained by the industrial revolution that took place in the west over a hundred years ago cannot be ignored. Our misfortune is that we were not permitted to adjust ourselves to the new environments that were created by the industrial revolution and that subordinated as was our freedom of action in the interest of the establishment of the economic supremacy of British capitalism in the country, we were unable so to modify and adjust our methods of production and distribution as to secure a reorganization of our trade and industries. The new constitution instead of conferring any power to deal with competition from the most powerful of our rivals leaves us more at the mercy of that rival. That being the case, the country is thrown back on the gospel of Swadeshi and one can only echo Major Basu's concluding fervent prayer, that "success be to the cause of Swadeshi in India so that the Motherland, again rise in prosperity and win the esteem and respect of other nations by the skill of her manufacturing sons and daughters."

V. L. M.

LIGHT OF IRAN

The Light of Iran or The Coming of Zarthushtra. By D. M. Golwalla. Price 5 Annas.

In this readable little book of flowing verses we have an interesting life-story of Zarthushtra, the Prophet of ancient Iran. Mr. Golwalla's book should inspire every Zoroastrian and others interested in that faith to go deeper into the tenets of Parsee religion. Zarthushtra is such a dim legendary figure, and is not to many of us of this generation such a living personality as other prophets are. Such books like Mr. Golwalla's are helpful and are bound to create that interest for the great Bactrian whose name is so often on our tongues, but whose mind and background and personality we hardly know. It does not take more than half an hour to go through these verses, but it is an half hour well-spent.

R. V.

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Every TUESDAY and FRIDAY, at 1-30 p.m. calling at VENGURLA, MORMUGAO, KARWAR, KUMPTA, BHATKAL, COONDAPUR. MALPE, FRIDAY steamer also calls at TADRI and HONAVAR, CALICUT EXTENSION:—TUESDAY steamer calls at CANNANORE, TELLICHERY and CALICUT.

BHAVNAGAR LINE

Every SATURDAY at 10 a.m. calling at NAWABUNDER, DIU, JAFFRABAD and MOHUWA.

KARACHI LINE

Every WEDNESDAY at 9 a.m. calling at CUTCH MANDVI & OKHA. Every SUNDAY, at 9 a.m. calling at VERAWAL, MANGROL and PORBUNDER.

GULF of CUTCH LINE

Weekly cargo sailing calling at Verawal, Mangrol, Porbunder Okha, Cutch Mandvi, Jodia, Salaya, Bedi Bunder, Navlakhi, Kundla and Moondra.

MALABAR LINE

Once every two months calling at Cannanore, Tellichery, Badagara Calicut, Poonani, Cochin and Alleppy.

FERRY (Passenger only) leaving from Ferry Wharf, Alexandra Dock.

HARNAI LINE

Daily at 7-30 a.m. calling at REVDANDA, JANJIRA, SHRIWARDHAN, HARESHWAR and HARNAI.

DABHOL LINE

Daily at 8-15 a.m. calling at (Shriwardhan), HARNAI and DABHOL.

VIZIADURG LINE

Daily at 2 p.m. calling at HARNAI, DABHOL, PAISHET, BORIA, JAYGAD, TIVERI, RATNAGIRI, PURNAGAD, MOOSAKAZI and VIZIADURG, (DABHOL omitted on the return voyage).

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Daily at 10 a.m. calling at RATNAGIRI, MOOSAKAZI, VIZIADURG, DEVGAD, ACHRA, MALVAN, VENGURLA and PANJIM.

DHARAMTAR LINE

Daily at 7-20 a.m. calling at REWAS and DHARAMTAR.

NAHAWA LINE

Daily at 2-0 p.m. calling at URAN, ELEPHANTA and NAHAWA.

SPECIAL EXCURSION STEAMER TO ELEPHANTA LEAVES FERRY WHARF EVERY SUNDAY AND HOLIDAY MORNING AT 9 A.M.

For Pleasure Cruises in the Harbour, please watch announcement in the Daily Papers.

For further particulars please apply to:

The Head Office of the Company, 100, Frere Road, BOMBAY, Tel. No. 25061 or its Bookers, Messrs. Kanji Jadhavji & Co., Broach Street, Dana Bunder, Mandvi.

OUR COMPLETE SHORT STORY

Fifty-Fifty

By A. Bhaskar Rao

With loud clanging of bells, the 'bhajan' was coming to a close. Kashibai, the hostess, had already gone into 'Samadhi'—a trance-like state brought about by intense concentration of God. Of late, the 'bhajan' had become a daily feature at Kashibai's house where about a dozen women of the neighbourhood assembled in the afternoon for prayer. The women whispered in husband tones about Kashibai's high spiritual state. Looking at her squatting on the floor before God, with eyes closed and a serene look, anyone would have seen that she was wrapped up in the worship of her Maker. Behind her worshipful eyelids however, holy thoughts were on a temporary holiday: Shamu, her son, was coming from Bombay that evening on a month's leave on her urgent summons. He had to be married before he went back, for, according to Devayya Bhat, the family priest, the seven years' 'Ketu Dasha' in his horoscope would begin soon and his marriage would not take place during that long period. Of course nobody should know the reason of Shamu's visit and—by God! her 'Samadhi' had prolonged into tea ttme to-day! She would have to stand tea to—yes, fourteen women and three children—oh! curse her carelessness! But one must put the best face on it. Kashibai permitted on her face a look of patient resignation.

In her early forties, Kashibai had suddenly turned religious. She decided—after taking stock of the family's bank balance, estate, jewellery and insurance—that a worldly life and outlook were inconsistent with spiritual progress which can and must be achieved only through renunciation; and, reflecting that all the property was well invested, she concluded that she had renounced the world, which was nothing but 'Maya.' She was well on the road towards the attainment of 'Moksha.'

Gradually Kashibai came to herself and in the sheer ecstacy of her communion with the Almighty, joined in the last line of the chorus; what she lacked in sweetness of voice, she made up by volume.

Knowing there was no escape, she offered her guests the beverage which very well could have passed for tea, if only it had seen a little more milk and sugar. After her holy hour, Kashibai was unusually active to-day. A broad smile played about her mouth as she tripped coquettishly about the house. Something welled up in her; she could contain herself no longer.

"Our Shamu is coming to-day" she burst out at last.

"But he had come only three months ago?," asked Yamunabai.

"Yes; he was recently transferred to a new branch of the bank. The Manager loves him. He has promised him a promotion soon; Shamu wrote to us he would have very hard work to do. So I asked him to come home for a month before hard work begins—for once our Shamu determines on a thing—" Kashibai pulled herself together. Was she growing enthusiastic when speaking about her son? No no, she was only telling them a few 'facts,' for she had escaped from the clutches of 'Sansar' which is, after all, 'Maya.'

There was a constant clash in Kashibai between her natural self and her recent self-imposed piety. It was like a 'Pelmaniac' who persuades himself that he is cheerful; when some little difficulty arises he gets more peevish than others, but the moment he remembers his course he works himself into a fearsome cheerfulness again.

"What pay does he get now?" enquired old Sonubai with the incorrigible inquisitiveness with which she was often accusing old Parvatibai (behind her back of course.)

"He is getting only Rs. 200 per month now, but they have promised to give him more" said Kashibai modestly.

"My brother-in-law's nephew is also getting Rs. 300 in Bombay. It seems that he is a 'Myaniger" put in Sonubai.

"Ayee" called a sweet voice from the outer room, "Baba is waiting for tea.'

"Oh, Vimal has returned from school. Shall I go in and give them tea?"

The assembly was dispersing, to meet the next day as usual, when Vimal entered. She was Shamu's younger sister, a fair and beautiful girl of sixteen, delicate as a budding rose. She was appearing for Matric next year.

"Ayee" she repeated with concern. "Baba has returned from office long ago; he said it must be about an hour since he came."

"Yes dear; the bhajan went on a little longer to-day. But why did he sit outside all the time? He could have come in and showed his face. How am I to know?" muttered her mother, a little vexed.

"But Ayee, you know he comes home daily at the same hour?" gently reminded Vimal.

"Er—well dear, you see we were . . . ."

"And besides he must go to the station to receive Dada. It is already late. Ayee, I too am going to the station. I want to see if Dada has brought that crochet set at least this time. If he hasn't I am going to send him back from the station right away!" pouted Vimal.

Kashibai had already disappeared into the kitchen, asking Vimal to follow.

Vithalrao was engaged in fondling Moti, the cat, when Kashibai entered with tea; the moment she spied her mistress, Moti, understanding the limitations of human affections, quietly trotted away, and perching herself precariously on the narrow edge of the window, began to regard her master with silent sympathy. And Vithalrao, catching the evident displeasure in the eyes of his wife, began to fidget, and gave an uncomfortable smile—the smile of a debtor to his creditor on meeting him for the third time during two hours.

* * * *

Kashibai was not a person—she was a personality. (Vithalrao was the first to recognise and acknowledge it thirty years ago). Kashibai was built on large and broad lines. Her meagre share of charm was not greatly enhanced by an insistent double chin. Her nose, isolated in the vast expanse of her face, was yet upturned with all the defiance of short stature. Overawed by this insolent nose, her small and shifty eyes had discreetly retired into their dark recesses. Altogether, as her best friend once remarked, she gave the impression of an accident that was going to happen.

"You are not a bridegroom that should not have the patience to wait?" snorted Kashibai, as she placed the tea and sweets on the teapoy with a thud, spilling some liquid with the impact.

"Er—Oh no, oh no," ejaculated her husband, starting up in the easy-chair. "Vimal herself asked me if I had been waiting."

"Shamu is coming on a month's leave" she continued in a lowered tone, ignoring his explanation. "He must be married before he returns"

"But where's the hurry, Shamu is only twenty-four?" he managed to put in, having too painful a memory of his own wedding at the ripe age of eighteen.

"The why and wherefore need not worry you. Sometime ago Shamu's horoscope had been taken by Yeshwantrao; I had told him that he could inform you about any developments. Has he broached the subject to you so far?"

Yeshwantrao was the leading lawyer of the place; He had five daughters, the eldest three of whom were already on the marriage market.

"No, so far he hasn't" said Vithalrao apologetically, as he gulped down the tea and got up. He looked at the watch and hurriedly put on his coat and turban. "He might, if I remind him" he added.

"What?" snapped his wife.

He started. In his hurry he had tried to say something but had made a mess. Again the silent, reproachful stare from Kashibai. He felt like a naughty little school-boy caught red-handed in some scrape by the teacher. He squirmed, writhed and finally dragged himself out of the room with his shoes in his hand. The next moment he had disappeared round the corner with Vimal, on their way to the station.

Vithalrao was one of those individuals who are treated as a piece of furniture and exhibited as husbands. Away from his wife, he was a worthy citizen, and an amiable sub-registrar and an indulgent father. People respected him, his clerks liked him and his children loved him. A withered man, with sad melancholy eyes, he looked prematurely old, though just on the threshold of fifty. Mild and meek by nature, he asserted himself at least in one respect—he kept a Kaiser moustache. It was a symbolic relic of the days when he was last singed with fashion. It gave him dignity, at least among his subordinates. Having never had a chance to make love and speak tenderly into the proper quarters, his thwarted instincts had found an outlet in Moti, the pet cat. He read papers and took part in the discussions of his friends about important topics like the Abyssinian issue and the Harijan movement by saying "yes" with vehemence, at judicious inervals.

As the train steamed in, Vimal craned her neck forward, searching for Shamu. Yes, there he was with his usual smile; and in

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Beginnings Of The Big National Struggle

(Continued from Page 81)

truths. There is a subjective side to the activities of the Congressmen of that period. That is a constructive part of their work. By these very resolutions and elaborate discussions thereon after a careful and anxious study of the problems before them in its pros and cons, they created a class of political thinkers and serious students of politics in the country. Their work also helped to create a sort of political awakening among the classes and masses without which no political movement can have any stability or can hope to lead the countrymen effectively to their political goal.

In this stage the people began to feel that they were moving although nobody thought it necessary to define the goal. Probably the leaders of the movement itself at this stage had no very clear and definite ideas about it.

I cannot conclude this brief review of the first stage of our National struggle without bowing my head in profound reverence to the great pioneer patriots who first held aloft the torch of light to guide the nation at a time when the darkness of ignorance and despair reigned supreme. They were the morning stars that ushered in the dawn of political awakening. Their spade-work paved the way for the Jugannath Car of Swaraj movement to march in martial order during the last thirty years (1905 to 1931) in vadious forms.

The pictures of these noble souls deserve to be presented in artistic album to the public on the auspicious occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Congress and kept hanging in a prominent place in every educational institution in the country but indelibly engraven on the heart of every Indian youth who should be required to commit them to memory and recite them reverentially every morning.

Of the great Indians who presided over the Congress sessions during the first 20 years of its minority and assumed the august office of its guardian, Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha is the only one surviving to-day.

I think it appropriate to mention the names of these guardian angels of our political struggle.

Four of them are Englishmen—

1. Sir George Yule (Allahabad 1888)
2. Sir William Wedderburn (Bombay 1889)
3. Mr. Alfred Webb (Madras 1894)
4. Sir Henry Cotton (Bombay 1904).

I cannot omit the name of Mr. A. O. Hume who was the very life of the Congress movement and worked as its General Secretary during this period.

Two distinguished Mohamedans from Bombay presided over the following sessions:—

1. The Hon. Budruddin Tyabji, (Madras 1887)
2. The Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani (Calcutta 1896)

Three Parsis from Bombay were not only the Presidents of some sessions of the Congress but they were the friend, philosopher and guide of the movement during their period and even for a long time afterwards. Sir Dinsha was a joint General Secretary with A. O. Hume from the very beginning.

(1) The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (Calcutta 1886 and Lahore 1893.)

(2) Sir (then Mr.) Pherozshah Mehta (Calcutta 1890)

(3) Sir Dinshah Edulji Wacha (Calcutta 1902).

This small enterprising Parsi community of Bombay has the unique and enviable honour of giving this Nation great captains of Industry and large-hearted philanthropists along with front-rank politicians who jealously fostered the spirit of unalloyed Nationalism and led the Congress movement in its early days. Our esteemed friend and distinguished Congressman, Mr. K. F. Nariman, the present Mayor of Bombay, is a worthy follower of the distinguished Parsi trio whose services to India and the Indian National Congress their grateful countrymen can never forget.

Then we have the following illustrious Indians as Presidents of the remaining sessions of the Congress during this period.

1. The Hon. Mr. W. C. Bannerjee (Bombay 1887)
2. Mr. Ananda Charlu (Nagpur 1891)
3. Hon. Surendra Nath Bannerjee (Poona 1895).
4. Sir Sankaran Nair (Amraoti 1897)
5. Mr. A. M. Bose (Madras 1898)
6. Mr. R. C. Dutta, (Lucknow 1899)
7. Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (Lahore 1900)
8. Lal Mohan Ghose (Madras 1903)
9. The Hon. G. K. Gokhale, (Benares 1905)

It is generally invidious to make any distinction between one great man and another. All the Congress Presidents were no doubt great in their own way. But I think that I can say without disrespect to any of the late Presidents of the Congress that the services rendered by Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Sir Romesh Chander Dutta, Sir Sumendra Nath Bannerjee, and the Hon'ble G. K. Gokhale are of a more permanent and lasting character.

If we classify according to the Provinces, the list of 18 personalities who officiated once or more as Presidents of the Congress in this period, we have four from England, seven from Bombay Presidency, five from Bengal and two from Madras.

In those years Bombay and Bengal were in the vanguard of the National movement. Our best stalwarts mainly came from these two Provinces. Even at this distant period these are the names to conjure with. It is indeed a matter of which the two provinces feel legitimately proud even to-day. Even to-day these two Presidencies have kept up the tradition of being in the front rank of the political fight. Sufferings of Karnatic and Gujrat and those of Bengal in the last campaign and afterwards are unparalleled.

Besides these stalwarts who were honoured by their countrymen with the unique distinction of becoming the non-official tribunes of the People there were a few from almost every Province in British India who were known for their distinguished and selfless devotion and services to the National organisation. Of these founders of our political faith some of whom were called upon to occupy the high office of the Congress Presidentship at a later date, only a few have survived to this day to participate in the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the great temple of Patriotism which they laboured hard in their days of youth and vigour to raise, in spite of all odds. The two great men whose names will easily occur to everybody are:—

(1) C. Vijayaraghavachariar the octagenarian patriot of Salem who presided over the momentous session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur in 1920, and

(2) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided over two regular annual sessions of the Congress and two sessions held during the Civil Disobedience period in defiance of prohibitory orders issued by the Government.

I wish to add to this list the name of another octogenarian patriot, the Hon'ble G. K. Khaparde, the Grand Old Man of Berar, who served the Congress in a spirit of unique devotion and selflessness and sacrifice for a number of years as a faithful and staunch ally of late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Lokmanya Tilak was the very embodiment of the spirit of the Congress in Maharashtra and it was due to his powerful and fearless championship through the columns of his 'Kesari' from 1891 to 1905 and his readiness to go cheerfully through all the sufferings and consequent sacrifices in vindication of the cause of the country's Liberty that made the Indian National Congress a living force and a household word throughout the length and breadth of not only Maharashtra but of the whole Indian Nation.

I pay my humble tribute of homage to all these great men and many others whom I could not name in this article owing to certain limitations I voluntarily imposed on its scope. I conclude with a fervent hope that the spirits of these noble departed souls will go on inspiring us and the future generations to strive on strenuously, suffer cheerfully and struggle bravely to fight the battle of freedom till we succeed in reaching the goal, the establishment of 'Poorna Swarajya'.

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Fifty-Fifty

(Continued from page 91)

his extended hand was a crochet set.

* * * *

Within a few days of his arrival, Shamu became aware of the reason of his visit. It was not through his mother who kept on giving little playful excuses; but he was resourceful, and with a tiny effort found it out with a pleasant surprise. This was the third day in succession of a private conference of his mother and Devayya Bhat, the family priest, behind closed doors. He had not seen American pictures for nothing; with an air of triumph he went to the door and bending down, glued his eye to the keyhole—which was not there. He realised, with disgust, that Indian doors have no keyholes.

Undaunted, Shamu then looked up and was relieved to find the open ventilator. Securing a stool, he climbed on to it; and hanging on to the sill resting his toes on the stool he at last peeped in. Devayya Bhat and his mother were squatting on the floor and so he could not see them, but fortunately their talk was audible.

"That's true" Bhatji was saying. "Except for her strong 'Shani' in the seventh house which is not properly counteracted by any of his malefic planets, the horoscopes tally in all other respects. Of course that is a minor consideration, for it will only bring domestic quarrels, as 'Shani' tends to herald trouble—'Mandhe Sapthagathe . . . .'" he quoted.

"But Guruji, you certainly know our Shamu by now? It takes two to make a quarrel and she will have to quarrel in front of a mirror!" exclaimed Kashibai, looking at him for approval.

"Of course, of course. Besides, this 'Mangal' of his will give battle to her 'Shani' try howsoever he might to create trouble, for, 'Bhaumya swagraheshu . . . .'".

To Devayya Bhat's credit, it must be said that he always rose to the occasion. His was no idle argument, but solid authority of 'Slokas' to substantiate his interpretation. A mere idea of his client's purse enabled him to read favourably or otherwise about religious sanctions. If he felt confident of a good reward—as in this case—he threw in a couple of 'Slokas' more to lend wait to his reading of his 'Shastras.' The source of the 'Slokas,' however, was of little consequence.

"Then we have our consent. Let them fix a day for 'vagnishchaya'" (betrothal) said Kashibai.

Shamu was still clinging and smiling to himself when the door suddenly opened and Devayya Bhat came out; not having expected a silent sentinel, he dashed across the stool and fell down with Shamu's legs round his shoulders—somewhat like Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea.

"Shamoo-o, naughty, naughty!" cried Kashibai, helping him up, while the old man gathered himself together and limped out groaning protest that he was not hurt. To Kashibai this was merely another of Shamu's naughty pranks, for he was always like that. That is why in his high school conduct report, she had changed the head master's remark "Childish" into "Child-like".

At one time Shamu was the hope of his class mates. His boldness was as unmistakable as his eye for ingenuity. To the boys' chorus of a couplet on the tummy of their geography teacher, likening it to the northern hemisphere, he lent a voiceless 'puk puk' in the shape of accompaniment. Once the Arithmetic teacher, on returning from the black board, was mystified to find his turban moving on the table in a jerky fashion; and on cautiously removing it, he found, to his surprise—and to the amusement of his pupils—a frog under it. Shamu's hand ached that evening as a result of the enthusiastic hand-shakes of his class-mates. Shamu's activities were, however, varied. He once applied glue to his father's whiskers when he was asleep, without being found out. He passed two annual examinations by sending bananas to the head master who was fond of them (not his fault). And finally, away at college, he once ran ten times round the college residency at midday dressed only in his sacred thread and an unconcerned look—all to win a two-anna bet. The makings of a citizen were thus stamped on him.

Now Shamu was elated. The immediate prospect of marriage pleased him. It was high time for it, he felt. Who was the girl he was going to marry? Of course he had complete faith in his mother to make the right choice—any way he had to have faith in her. His curiosity tickled him. He went after Devayya Bhat and waylaid him on the road. Producing a four-anna coin Shamu invoked his blessings and with an exaggerated casualness asked about the girl they were talking about. For a moment Guruji eyed the shining coin dubiously and then, snatching it, tucked it at his waist with as much dignity as such an operation could permit. Leading Shamu to the place, he quietly pointed out the house, told him the name of the girl Shantha—said she was appearing for matric that year, and walked away.

It was nearing school time and so Shamu kept sauntering leisurely on the road, keeping an eye on the front door. He had not long to wait, for a girl soon emerged from the house with a bundle of books. With one greedy stare Shamu took her in. She was tall and fair, with an acquiline nose and charming eyes. It was her long thick plait reaching down almost to her knees, showing an abundance of hair, that he liked best. With a fluttering heart he followed her up to her school, keeping at a respectable distance. He knew that she had seen him and was also aware that he was following her, but she did not once look behind. How modest and well-behaved! He returned home, little doubting that there was any difference between his mother and a genius.

Shamu felt pleased that things were getting under way, for Kashibai was closetted with her husband.

"They enquired about Shamu from Devayya Bhat and sent the horoscopes through him" Kashibai was saying in an aggressive whisper. "The family is respectable and healthy. I have made enquiries; only the great-grandmother of the girl, in her younger days, sometimes walked in her sleep and beat anyone who came in her way. But she recovered all by herself as soon as she was married."

Vithalrao nodded, knowing that was all that was expected of him.

"Shantha, the girl, is good-looking and educated. Her father Gangadharrao, is a zemindar. He is giving a dowry of two thousand rupees for the girl; she has diamond ear-rings and nose 'Chamki,' and a locket chain with four pendants. Besides they are bringing . . . . ."

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

Shamu was puzzled and a little annoyed with his bride-to-be; this was the fifth day he had been following Shantha to school and back, dressed in his latest rolled-collar coats and flannel trousers, with a generous dash of 'Midnight in Morocco' on his silk kerchief; but she was indifferent. A girl in the matric class ought to be sufficiently modern as to return the smile of her future husband; or she must at least have the courtesy to acknowledge it. Shantha had evidently not derived the benefit of true education. Should he allow her then to continue her studies in college

Shamu finished his tea and looked across the road from the restaurant where he had planted himself, waiting for his would-be-wife. To-day he would speak to her and make her acquaintance. That was the modern way. Most of the girls had passed by on their way home but Shantha was not to be seen. Shamu waited and waited, and at last with a grunt returned home.

Shamu decided to tell his mother about Shantha's lack of—he would not put it down as manners, but certainly, refinement. He was passing through the hall into the kitchen when Vimal called him. He went up to her. She was manicuring her nails and looked rather serious.

"Yes?" said Shamu.

Without looking up Vimal spoke: "Dada, is it proper on your part?"

Shamu could not make it out. "Which?" he queried, making a rapid mental survey of his multifarious adventures, with an uneasy conscience.

"Now that you are going to be married, does it look nice that you should follow girls?" Vimal continued in the same serious but well-meaning tone.

Relieved, Shamu understood. Vimal had come to know, but where was the sin in it?

"What's wrong in having a look at my own wife?" he asked her with an air of superiority.

"But what makes you think that Nalini, my class-mate, is your wife? Why are you following her?"

"No; never! I have been trying to know only Shantha."

"Nalini herself pointed you out to me this evening. You were taking tea in the restaurant near our school. And Nalini will never tell a lie."

Shamu was not convinced. He gave his sister details about the house.

"Yes, that's where Nalini lives" said Vimal.

"But Guruji said that was Shantha's house."

"Yes, she lives on the first floor."

* * * *

'Vagnishchava' was over and the 'Muhurt' was fixed. Kashibai beamed satisfaction, for the marriage would take place just three days before the setting in of Shamu's 'Ketu Dasha.'

Kashibai sat ruminating, chewing betel-leaves. An idea had come to her. Why not perform Vimal's marriage along with Shamu's? It would save expense; besides, Vimal was sixteen and grown up. Even Vaikuntarao, the sub-judge, had married off his two daughters together. People ought to follow it up. It was decent and at the same time inexpensive. She wondered how it had not occurred to her before.

The decision was made. There was no time to be lost. Looking over likely 'places' in her mind, Kashibai remembered the nephew of Sonubai's brother-in-law, who was a 'myaniger'. He must be well-established. She hoped he was a bachelor. She would know: she accosted Sonubai after the 'bhajan' that very evening and discovered, with an agreeable flutter, that Govindrao, her relative, was not only not married but he had expressed his desire to marry. Sonubai could give only that additional information which he had sent—his 'Gothra,' and that he was a manager getting three hundred rupees per month.

Kashibai squeaked another exclamation—their 'Gothras' were different, thus obviating the foremost difficulty. To open negotiations, she enquired about the boy's father, but Sonubai told her Govindrao was an orphan. Things were taking a distinctly brighter turn; it would be easier to deal with him directly.

Kashibai forthwith opened correspondence with Govindrao by sending Vimal's photograph; and requested for his horoscope. Govindrao, besides sending a plan of the quizzical marshalling of his planetary team, obliged with his photograph. He had approved the girl.

Of course the letter was addressed to "Mr. Vithalrao, 'Shanti

(Continued on page 94)

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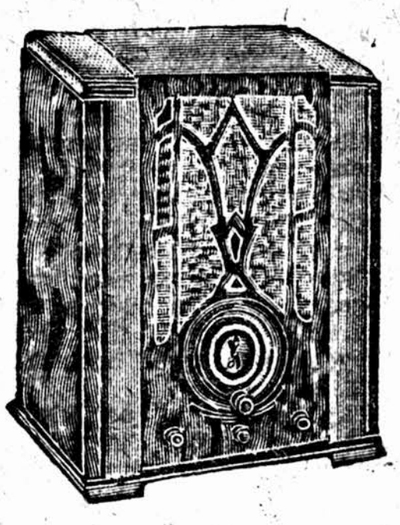

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Fifty-Fifty

(Continued from page 93)

Kunj' ''. Shamu, handing it over to his father, asked him who it was from. Vithalrao did not know, for he rarely received letters. He was just drawing out the letter from the envelope when Kashibai, entering the room, suddenly pounced upon him and snatched it away. Shamu, having had a peep at the photograph, begged his mother to show it.

"Shamoo-o, naughty—now run into the cowpen and have a look at our new calf."

Shamu obeyed. Kashibai turned her attention to her husband, giving him a stare. Upon the face of the wretched man there came a martyred look.

"But I thought . . . ." he mumbled—

"Discretion" she snapped. "In Shamu's presence how 'could' you think of opening your letter "

That night, Vithalrao was reclining in his favourite easy-chair, gently stroking Moti and contemplating with wonder God's Creation, when Kashibai came in. There was a threat of a smile on her face. She deposited herself coyly and cautiously on the arm of the easy-chair. Vithalrao blinked.

Kashibai told her husband jubilantly that the horoscopes tallied and Govindrao was handsome

"But" he fumbled, "Are we going to settle the alliance without even seeing the man "

Kashibai turned towards him with a jerk. The easy-chair creaked. Somewhere a dog barked. She regarded him with disappointment.

"There—always like you, jumping to conclusions. Who said. without seeing him?"

She then outlined her plan: she was going to Bombay in two days to meet Govindrao. She would stay at a friend's place. Nobody was to know the reason of her visit. It was to be given out that she had gone to purchase the trousseau for their new daughter-in-law.

* * * *

For the up-country person who comes to Bombay for the first time, the city evokes certain entirely new feelings and emotions. A sense of awe and bewilderment, coupled with the idea of his own insignificance, fills him. The unfamiliar sight of tall buildings, the crowds of heterogeneous people bustling about as if they are always in a hurry, the incessant noise of trams, buses and other vehicles, puzzles and unnerves him, and ultimately drives him into a momentary introspective mood "What am I?"

Kashibai, impervious to her surroundings though it was her first visit to the metropolis, was firmly answering to herself practically the same question. "Here I am, on my way to Govindrao's, about to fix up a splendid match for our Vimal. Shamu and Vimal are both going to marry into good families, of course, I have not been worldly like others, for have I not accepted the ridiculously low dowry of two thousand for our Shamu?"

Govindrao, who had received Vithalrao's letter that "We are coming," was puzzled when only a lady called at his house.

Kashibai hurriedly explained, "I came yesterday. My husband could not get leave owing to pressure of work and I had to come alone. I hope you don't mind?"

"Oh not at all. Please make yourself comfortable."

Kashibai was looking uncomfortably across the room at a man standing on the balcony.

"Oh I am sorry I forgot. Vishoo, come here—this is my friend Vishwanath. We are staying together."

Vishwanath made polite noises and excusing himself, slipped out of the room. Kashibai cast a glance over the room. It was tidy and nicely kept. Purple curtains adorned the windows. How happy Vimal would be here; her favourite colour was purple.

"Was the journey comfortable?" —"How do you find Bombay—noisy, no?"—"The heat is terrible to-day,"—this conventional stuff was over. Kashibai was gaining confidence. She had imagined Govindrao to be a sedate, glum person, talking only when spoken to. Here he was chatting in a free, light-hearted way to a lady who was a stranger, putting her at ease. She likened him to Shamu.

Kashibai warmed up. After the preliminary talks, she came down to brass tacks.

"You modern youngsters are wonderful" she said effusively, "you want to break down silly old traditions like horoscopes, dowry and the like. Of course, you won't insist on such an old fashioned custom as dowry?"

"Er—no" faultered Govindrao.

She drew a sigh of relief.

"But," he continued, "you see, it's like this. My parents died when I was very young and my uncle brought me up. He advanced money to me for my education and it is my duty to return it. I shall not take any dowry as such, but only the amount that is due to him." Kashibai sighed again, but this time with a certain heaviness. Still retaining the smile with an effort, she enquired about the figure, with a flutter.

"The exact sum is Rs. 3,250, but a round sum of Rs. 3,000 will be enough."

Kashibai looked up. The room was suddenly enveloped in darkness, and there ensued a confused noise around. She groped—Yes, Shamu was getting Rs. 2,000, she would have to give Rs. 3,000, that was Rs. 1,000 more—but Govindrao's salary was Rs. 300—and it was a fine match—foolish to let it go—Allright.

The room became bright again and she heard Govindrao speaking. He was stressing the point that he would be the last man to demand dowry, and this was to be considered purely as return of a debt. He was, however, a reasonable man.

Finally it was settled at two thousand—loss would be equal to gain. The marriage would be performed within a fortnight. The other details were easy. Kashibai returned home happy about the alliance. They had in any case set apart some money for Vimal—and what a profitable match!—he was a young, prosperous man on the threshold of life with a fine salary. Vimal's happiness was secured.

* * * *

The return of the 'Ashwamedh' horse was not half so triumphant as that of Kashibai to her town. She wondered why philosophers regard humanity as unhappy. Why should you expect too much out of life?

Happiness was oozing out of Kashibai. She became expansive to her husband. She actually smiled at him, whereupon he openly put his hand to his whiskers. She increased Moti's rations by four teaspoons of milk. In a fit of generosity she decided to give coppers to the first dozen beggars (poor starving skeletons!) that came along, but somehow they always turned back from the next house.

The question of performing the marriages at two different places presented a difficulty. Vithalrao came to the rescue. He suggested that their neighbour Vinayakrao's 'wada' might be requisitioned. Kashibai again smiled at her husband.

"This is the first time you have said something intelligent" she said encouragingly.

Vithalrao beamed a Stan Laurel smile, and heaven seemed to him only a yard away.

Vinayakrao readily placed his 'wada' at the disposal of Kashibai, at the prospect of a rich feast—for the eyes. Both the 'muhurts' were fixed, with an interval of five minutes between them. The work of the pandal began. During the next few days, Kashibai's house became a beehive of activity. Invitations were printed and sent—Vithalrao himself posted them. Kashibai had not a moment's rest. Countless times, she would flit across to her husband "to ask his permission," tell him what was to be done, and hop away.

Govindrao arrived on the eve of the ceremony. He put up with Sonubai.

* * * *

The marriage day dawned. The morning sun rose behind the hills in an opalescent haze. A cool breeze wafted from the south-west; birds twittered in the trees. It was a glorious morning.

The whole town was up early. All roads lead to Vinayakrao's 'wada'. Flags and streamers about the pandal danced gaily in the wind. The scout band played charming Indian tunes, while the 'sanai' played 'todi rag,' producing exquisite torment in the listeners. The guests poured in until the pandal was packed, leaving no standing space. The two 'mandaps', erected side by side, looked very festive.

The 'muhurt' drew near. Shamu entered the 'mandap', followed by his parents. All eyes were turned on him. In a silk coat and a fine dhoti, he looked handsome. The ladies whispered approval. Then came the bride, escorted by her father. There was a murmur of appreciation.

The priests roared 'mantras', each one trying to drown the other's voice. The ceremony began. The daily warnings of his mother to look serious during the ceremony seemed to have had effect on Shamu, though every now and then a faint smile escaped from the corners of his mouth. He peeped across the 'antarpat' at the bride till a warning glare from his mother drew him back into stiffness. When at last he garlanded his wife, he smiled boldly.

By this time, the other couple had arrived in the adjoining 'mandap'. Vimal was the picture of loveliness in a mauve georgette sari. Govindrao, though a little older than Shamu, looked dignified in his clean shave and clear-cut features. His age was the only point about which the ladies could comment upon.

A regular competition in 'mantra'-bellowing ensued between the two groups of priests in the respective 'mandaps'. Kashibai and her husband went over to the other 'mandap.' She had whispered a warning to Shamu not to talk to the bride; and so he consoled himself with a frequent glance at his newly acquired possession, from the corner of his eye, which act did not pass unnoticed by the keen-eyed ladies —for according to an unwritten code, a bride-groom in a marriage pandal may stare at any one's wife but his own. There is very little in a marriage which the ladies miss. From the bride's ornaments and the tilt of her head, to the age of the bride-groom and the cost of the pandal, they observe, evaluate, appraise, discuss and judge everything.

Shamu looked cross at his new brother-in-law. Good profile—broad forehead. The face seemed familiar. He looked closely—it resembled—Hullo, it 'was' Govindrao! Yes, that blighter, and a brother-in-law! But how—?

'Shubha Mangala Savadha a a a na' went up a chorus of voices from the priests, solemising the marriage.

* * * *

Shamu and Govindrao looked at each other across the 'mandaps' and grinned in a friendly way. Kashibai bustled over and asked her son if he knew the new son-in-law.

"Yes, of course" he replied, "he is in my own bank."

"Ah, is he 'your' manager?" asked his mother eagerly.

"Manager be blowed!" snapped Shamu, "why, he is just like me—a clerk. We both sit at the same counter. Even our pay is the same—fifty-fifty."

(THE END)

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The Congress Jubilee And Why

(Continued from Page 39)

(BY SHRI SRI PRAKASH, M.L.A.)

ask for the accounts from the Central and Provincial Governments of this country which spend among themselves over 250 crores of rupees per year, a large mass of which cannot be published as doing so "would be against the public interest." Let them also ask what amounts are being to-day wasted in the new-fangled methods of elections for from the local bodies to the legislatures,—let alone parties and addresses to Governors and Viceroy—and then compare the uselessness of the one with the usefulness of the other and deflect their enthusiasm for the proper expenditure of public money in proper channels, and curb their morbid desire to attack their opponents by any means fair or fond.

THE THIRD STAGE.

Now the second stage is passed and we are celebrating the completion of 50 years of Congress work in the country. Many hearts may be glad at this hour. But my heart is sad. It is sad because the ideal should have been reached, the Congress should no more have been necessary, and no occasion should really have occurred for the celebration of a Golden Jubilee. And really unless one belongs to that tape of philosopher which thinks that pursuit of truth is better than the attainment thereof, one is bound to wish that this day had never come; and that instead of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our struggle for freedom we might have been privileged to celebrate perhaps a little later, if not at once, the Golden Jubilee of the attainment of that freedom itself. But I do not want to give way to pessimistic thought, and humble as I am, I desire that we should now enter the third stage so that at least the Diamond Jubilee may never be celebrated; but, instead, we may celebrate the tenth anniversary of our being a free people once again. May I hope that the third stage will be marked by our teaching in a simple and practical manner, our individual citizen to live like a free man and to learn the responsibilities of freedom.

NEED FOR DISCIPLINE.

Mahatma Gandhi is, as the world knows, fond of repeating at his prayer time the nineteen verses of the "Bhagavad Gita" that tell us of the manner in which the persons of 'stable mind' and 'steadfast contemplation' (sthita-prajna and samadhistha) live and move and have their being—in the language of the original verse itself, 'talk and sit and walk'. We now need—if we are not only to carry on a struggle but to complete it with success—to have a simple code telling us how a free man behaves in his individual domestic, social and communal life—in other words how he talks, sits and walks. (In the peculiar parlance that we have come to use in our country, let me explain that by 'communal' I do not mean the followers of a particular religious faith but I am using the word in the sense the word 'community', referring to society as a whole, is used in modern works of political science). This is most important, for with all our enthusiasms and all our high aspirations and noble endeavours, our private citizen has not yet known how to conduct himself properly in the various spheres in which his life is cast. That results in personal inefficiency, in lack of consideration on the part of one individual towards another, and utter absence of forethought which makes all organisation impossible. We must now be taught actively and persistently the simple lessons of our civic rights and duties; and if that could be effectively done another 10 years will surely see us attain our goal. If we could all be dependable in small as well as in large matters—from the coming at the promised time to a meal, to the fulfilment in the proper manner of a public duty which we might have undertaken, through the whole gamut of fulfilling our social and professional obligations by paying bills and subscriptions in accordance with our promises, and performing our tasks as sweepers tailors, washermen, tradesmen, doctors, lawers, journalists or officemen; and carrying our sticks and umbrellas in a manner that hurts no one else and accommodating one another in railway trains and in public places,—we shall be able to organise the whole of our national existance where each man will know his rights and duties, insisting unflinchingly on the former and performing unfailingly the latter, and thus shall make ourselves an irresistible nation with ordered freedom in our own home respected and loved by all abroad.

LIFTING THE AVERAGE.

Mr. Gokhale said long ago that though we produced great individuals, our average was very low. The Congress to-day stands to lift this average and can conveniently afford to leave the great individuals to take care of themselves. The teaching of our simple civic rights and duties must come from the Congress, because the Congress alone has such a hold on the hearts of the people that only its behest can be expected to be followed by them individually and the mass, when the earnest pleas of others may carry no weight with them, living as they do, in a disordered and unorganised manner through the bad tradition of centuries of other-dependence and irresponsibility till they have ceased to feel that there is anything wrong in them which is in their own power to cure, unless we are prepared to take this great and important though apparently simple task, deliberately in our hands, we may go on outwardly making merry at our golden and diamond jubilees and even our sentenaries, marking the periods of our travail, but we shall never attain the goal for which the struggle has been undertaken, and shall for ever be deprived of the real joy of tasting the fruits of our labour and celebrating genuine inward happiness the anniversaries of the day of the attainment of our real freedom and the fulfilment of our heart's hope, the symbol, as it will then be, of the time when we truly came unto our own.

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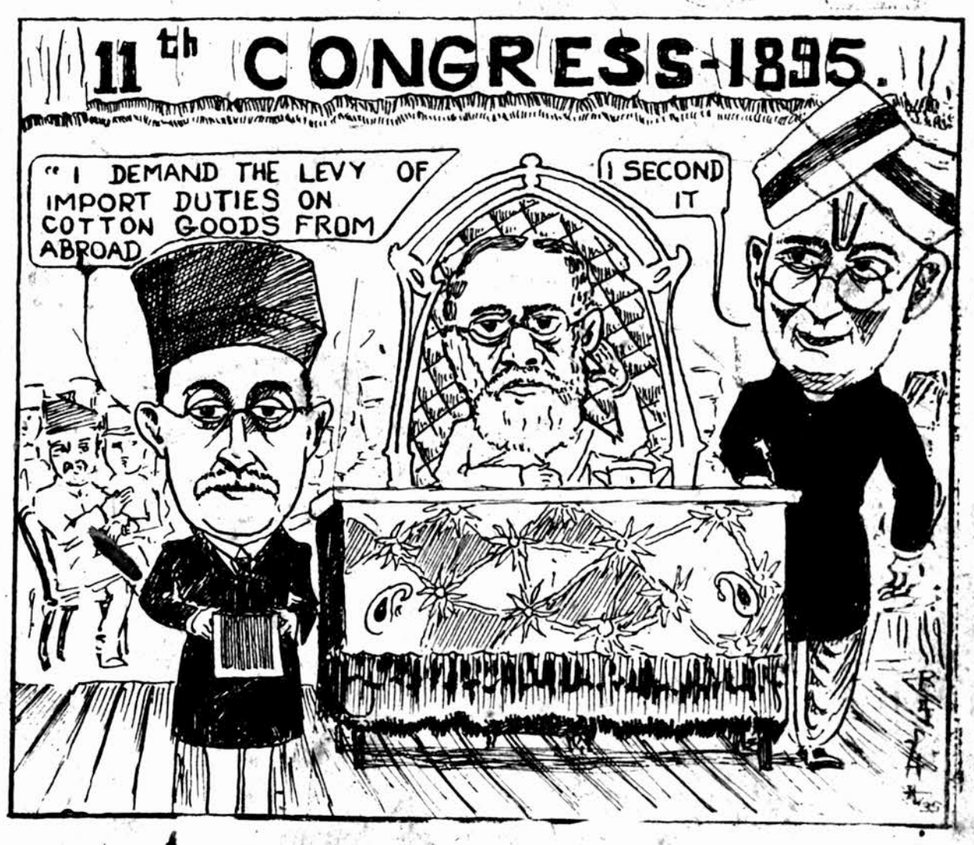
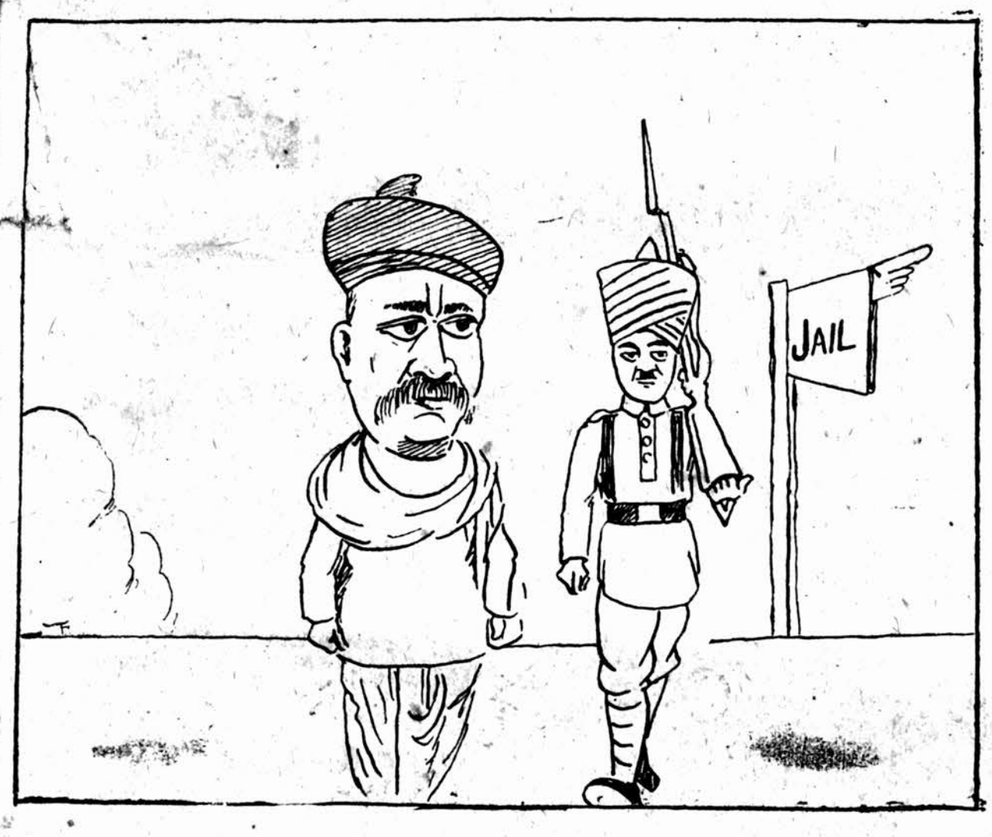
Some High-Lights Of Congress History

—By "Radha"

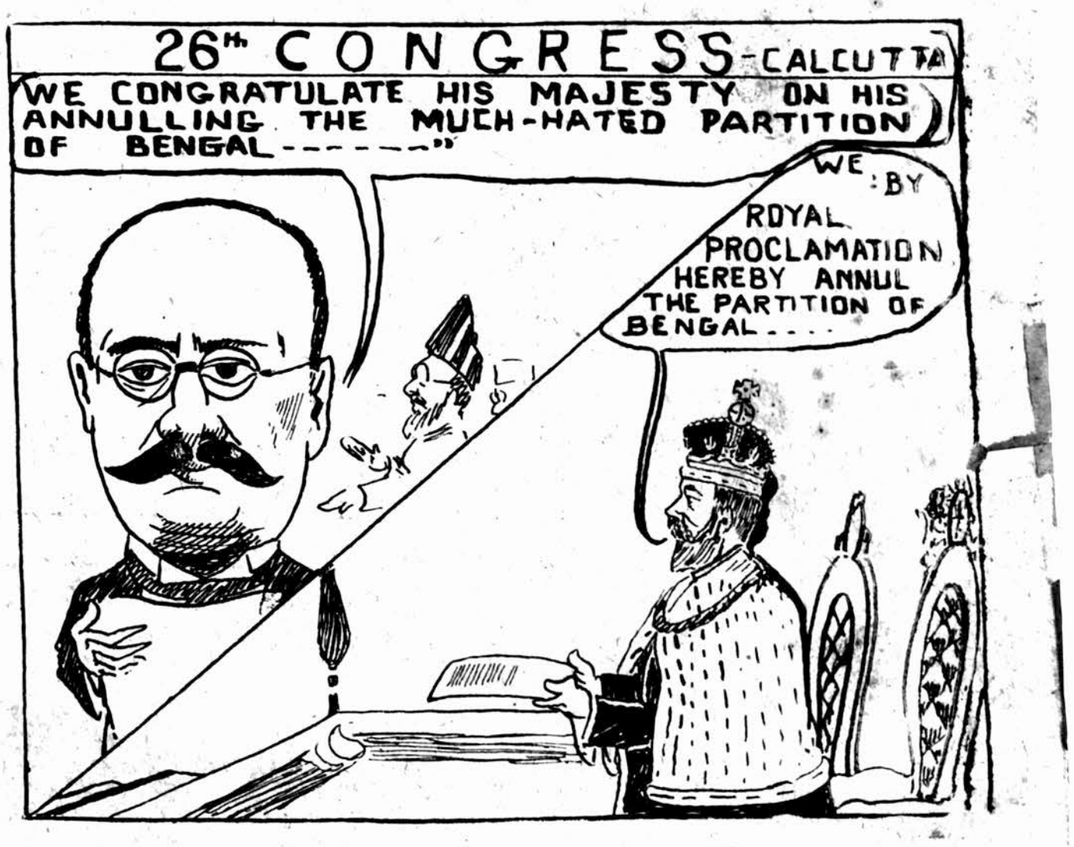
1886—Lord Dufferin as Viceroy invites Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of Congress, and delegates to a tea party at Government House.



1895—Under presidentship of Babu Surendranath Banerjea Mr. (now Sir) D. E. . Wacha demands levy of import duties on cotton goods from abroad.



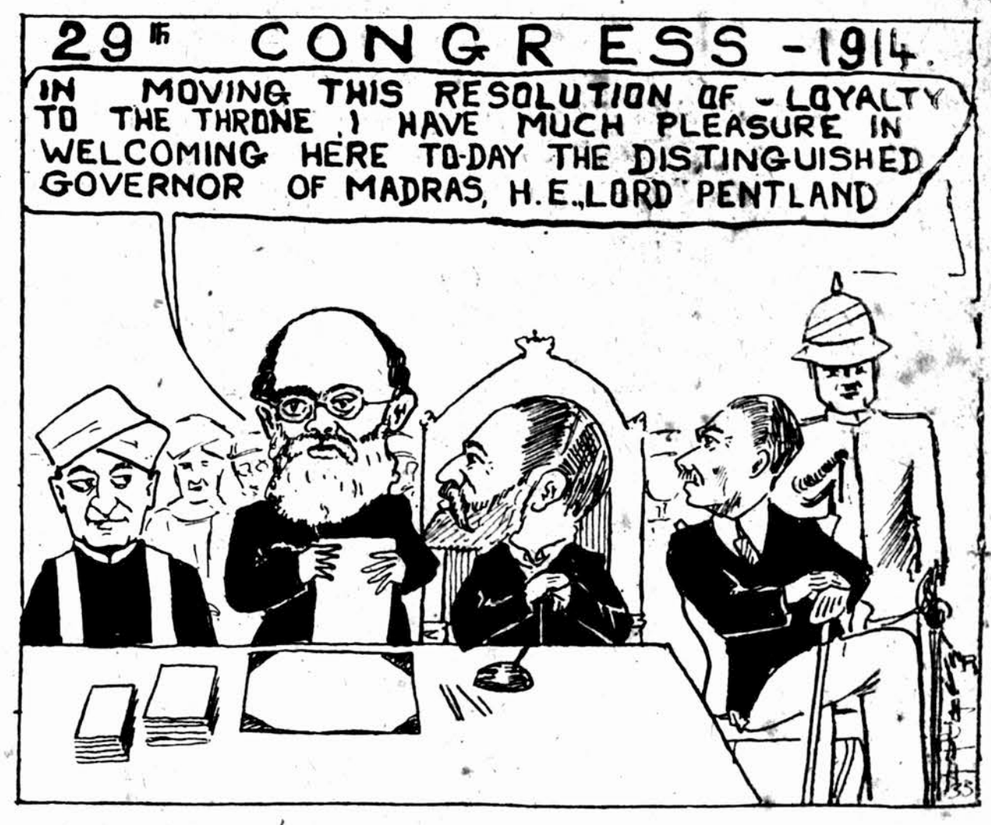
1897—Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak starts on his pilgrimage to jail.


26th CONGRESS-CALCUTTA
WE CONGRATULATE HIS MAJESTY ON HIS ANNULLING THE MUCH-HATED PARTITION OF BENGAL------"
WE: BY ROYAL PROCLAMATION HEREBY ANNUL THE PARTITION OF BENGAL....

1911—Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar from presidential chair congratulates H. M. King Emperor for annulling Partition of Bengal in response to popular demand.

IT IS INDEED A GREAT HONOUR TO ME TO HAVE BEEN INVITED BY THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO PRESIDE OVER THEIR DELIBERATIONS.
I CONDEMN WITH ALL THE FORCE AT MY COMMAND THIS REPRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT-----
HEAR HEAR
①
②

But for a domestic bereavement, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, future Premier of Great Britain would have presided over the 1911 session of the Congress. At the same session Mr. (now Sir) C. P. Ramaswamy vehemently condemned the repressive policy of Govt.


29th CONGRESS-1914.
IN MOVING THIS RESOLUTION OF-LOYALTY TO THE THRONE I HAVE MUCH PLEASURE IN WELCOMING HERE TO-DAY THE DISTINGUISHED GOVERNOR OF MADRAS, H.E. LORD PENTLAND

1914—Soon after outbreak of World War, Babu Surendranath Banerjea moves from the chair a resolution of loyalty to the Throne and welcomes Governor Lord Pentland of Madras who attended the Congress to hear the speeches on that resolution.

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